The Changing Role of Local Authority Social Workers in Scotland.

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This is to certify that this thesis
is all my own work.

Bruce Lynch.

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Summary.

This study is concerned with the changing role of the Scottish local authority social workers as a result of the implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. Under this Act specialist social workers employed by local authorities in the fields of Probation, Child Care, Mental Health and Welfare were amalgamated into one service. This amalgamation involved these specialist social workers in adopting work roles which involved a wider range of social work tasks and responsibilities and which also called for the workers to relinquish their previous specialist titles and identities. It was hypothesised that the social workers' commitment to their specialist work roles was an important inducement to participate in an organisation and that these commitments would adversely affect the workers' preparedness to voluntarily take up and accept the new and broader social work roles which the new service entailed.

The study was conducted in three separate parts. An assessment was made of each specialist group's sense of commitment and role rewards prior to the changeover and this was followed by two subsequent assessments some six months and then eighteen months after the changeover had been completed. The general findings of the study indicate that whilst a number of specialist staff underwent some personal stress as a result of the change in their role activities, their final adjustment

to the new work situation was largely influenced by the structure of the organisation in which the officers operated, rather than by the particular specialism of any group prior to the change. The organisation which was able to replace the workers' specialist commitment and identification with a commitment to, or an acceptance of, the new and broader social work role was generally less stressful for the social workers than the organisation which failed to alter the specialist commitments in this way. Nevertheless, even where little attempt was made to alter the values of the workers towards the new work role, sometimes the demands of the work situation rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for officers to continue to validate or sustain their previous specialist identities and interests in their work. Under such circumstances the specialist commitments were insufficient in themselves to prevent the decay in the workers' former images of themselves as specialist workers.

Work situations which allowed the former specialist social workers to continue to find favourable work images in their new role provided important incentives for them to remain with the new organisation. Conversely, where the organisation failed to provide its workers with opportunities to find the new work role meaningful, participation in the organisation deteriorated. The most important single factor to influence both a favourable change in the workers' sense of identification with the new work role and their continued sense of satisfaction in the new work situation, was the structure of the organisation itself. Moreover, in this study, that structure was largely influenced by the particular leadership style and orientation of the director responsible for the new department and service.

Contents.

INTRODUCTION

The decision to conduct a study into the role of the social worker arose out of a personal interest on the part of the researcher in that particular occupational activity, together with the fact that radical changes had been scheduled to occur in the social work field and that these changes would be worth pursuing for the following reasons. The introduction of the social work legislation of 1968, as it applied to local authority social work services in Scotland, called for the integration of the then existing social work services and their staff. The significance of this integration lay in the recognised impact which the change to the new structure would entail for the social worker in the field. The new service structure implied, not simply an amalgamation of the Scottish local authority social work services, but also the reformation or the restructuring of the role of the local authority based social work employee. Since it is generally acknowledged in the social work field that it is the social worker themselves who largely determine the quality of the service provided to the client, it became apparent that the success or otherwise of the changeover would depend greatly on the attitudes and the performances of the social workers.

The area of interest in this study centred around the fact that, whilst the term 'social worker' can be loosely applied to almost every category of person who works with a client in a welfare-type situation within the social work profession itself, marked distinctions existed among social workers in terms of their degree of specialisation and sense of identification with particular

areas of work and clientele. These different specialist groups of workers were interesting sociologically and professionally* in the sense that whilst each group could be seen as broadly engaging in a similar occupation, i.e. Social Work, more important for each category of worker was the specialist nature of their social work activity. They were not simply social workers, but Probation Officers, Child Care Officers, etc. At least three groups had developed quite elaborate ideologies concerning their branch of the service and their particular contribution to their respective clients. Moreover, these specialist social workers had also been encouraged by the different specialist training bodies and associations, and even by their respective agency, to develop an emotional commitment to their specialist task. The specialist social worker role, therefore, was not simply regarded as a 'professional' activity, but also as something of a vocation or a calling. This sense of identification was to the specialist area and clientele to which the different groups were associated. The new social work legislation, however, called for these specialist officers to cast aside their specialist commitments and identifications and take up a generic role and a concept of themselves as multi-purpose social workers. As the role of the multi-purpose social worker involved the social worker in performing a variety of social work tasks 'across the board', this raised the possibility of social workers being confronted with tasks and responsibilities which they were neither professionally nor psychologically prepared to take up. Very few social workers who were involved in the move to the new social service structure had, in fact, undergone a generic training which would have equipped them for the move. Moreover,

* See Appendix B.

it was far from certain that the social work staff themselves favoured the dissolution of their respective specialist services. The new legislation contained in the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, therefore presented an ideal opportunity to study both change in the service and how that change affected the role and performance of the social worker in the field. It was the major hypothesis of this study that the social workers' initial sense of commitment to, and identification with a particular specialist branch of the service would be an important factor in limiting their ability to make the transition from a specialist-based role and commitment to that of the multi-purpose social worker role and identification. It was to be suggested that the image which their work offered with particular clients provided an important set of intrinsic rewards or inducements for both entering and remaining with a particular branch of the social work service. The significance of the change to the new service structure lay in that it threatened to interfere with the existing sets of images and meanings which the social worker and their specialist colleagues attributed to their role.

Social change, however, does not occur in a vacuum, but rather takes place within some recognised social context. It seemed appropriate, therefore, to view the changing role of the social worker within the context of some particular setting. The setting chosen was an organisation - in this instance, a Social Work Department. The choice of that particular setting could be justified on the grounds that after the changeover to the new social work service, the provision of hitherto specialist services of the local authority were largely to be provided by the Social Work

Department. Moreover, since the majority of social workers to be involved in the change were typically employees of the local authority and would be expected to enter the new Department after the changeover, the Department would provide an ideal context in which to view the nature of the change taking place in the role of the different specialist officers. By comparing the experiences of different specialist workers within the same organisation, it would also become somewhat easier to attempt to assess whether any differences which might emerge in the adaptation of the different specialist groups were related to their specialist commitments, or whether it reflected a more general experience within the organisation itself, and, as such, was shared by all the different specialist groups.

Having chosen to study social workers operating within the new Social Work Departments, it then became a question of deciding which type of new department was to be selected. On the principle that the structure of the new department, its leader and its location could all be expected to provide different sets of experiences for the social worker, it was decided that two Social Work Departments would be chosen for the purposes of comparison. The choice of these two departments was made on the basis of convenience for the researcher rather than by sampling. The decision, however, appeared to be a fortunate one, in that the two departments chosen reflected something of the range of Social Work Departments which existed at that time. The first department operated in an urban area with a population of over 466,000, and is referred to in the study as Department A. The second department operated in a combination of rural and semi-urban regions with a total population of over 190,000,

and is referred to in the study as Department B. The researcher had no first-hand acquaintance with either of the newly-appointed Directors of these departments, and introductions to these men were through a professional Social Work training body in the areas. Meetings with both Directors brought forth the necessary permission to enter their respective departments and consult with social work staff on the project. Subsequent meetings with all members of the social work staff brought an almost unanimous agreement to participate in the study. All but one Child Care Officer participated in the study, so that out of a total of 94 social workers in both departments, 93 of these officers were covered in the first stage. Only one other social worker dropped out of the study at the second stage of the research. New entrants to each of the departments were not included in the sample, although interviews were conducted with these people in order to determine whether or not there was any appreciable differences in their experiences of the new situation with those cited by the study group. An attempt was also made to contact those social workers who left their employment during the study period, again in order to determine the nature of their experiences in the department concerned. The main body of the research, however, focuses entirely on those social workers who entered the departments and who remained with these same departments until the point when the research study had been completed.

Following Lazarsfeld et al,[1] the decision was taken to conduct the study in the form of a 'panel analysis'. Under this method the same group of subjects - in this instance the social workers - were compared at different points in time; once prior to the changeover and on two separate occasions following the change.

STAGE ONE of the research took place some three months before the official changeover to the new social work structure. The intention at that point was to assess the social workers' sense of identification and commitment to their respective specialist agency and area of work, together with some assessment of their existing degree of satisfaction with their present work situation and their attitudes towards the then forthcoming change. At that stage, social workers were required to complete a questionnaire (a copy of which is in the Appendix) and a number of informal interviews and discussions took place at that point with the staff involved. The questionnaire was composed of both pre-coded type questions, which attempted to gauge something of the possible range of attitudes and experiences which the individual social workers might associate with their work, and also a number of open-ended questions which allowed for the social worker herself to express her own feelings on a number of areas which the researcher considered important for the following study. These important areas were concerned with the social worker's perception of their social work role and their feelings about the impending changeover to a new social work service. The objective of the data gathered in this way was to compare the experiences of the different specialist officers within a particular social work department, and also to compare those same experiences of social workers in the two departments involved in the study.

STAGE TWO of the project took place some five months AFTER the official date marking the existence of the new Social Work Service in Scotland. Once again, data was gathered on the different specialist groups in the two departments by means of the questionnaire

and by informal talks with staff in their place of work. Many of the questions contained in the first questionnaire were repeated but other questions were introduced in order to take account of the structural changes which had taken place in the service and the social worker's own position therein. As with Stage One, the focus of the research was on the social workers' role and their experience of the change within the context of their own department.

STAGE THREE, the final stage of the study, took place some eighteen months AFTER the official changeover point. At that stage interviews of approximately two hours replaced the questionnaire method of collecting the data, but the focus continued to centre around the social workers and their experience of the change as it had affected their own specialist roles. At that stage the social workers were also called upon to make their own personal evaluation as to the changes and the implications which that change had held for themselves and their colleagues.

The reason for deciding to conduct the research in three parts was to attempt to provide some ongoing picture of the different stages in the development of the social worker's career within the new departments, and to give the social workers a reasonable space of time in which to make a more objective assessment of their position within the new departments. The period of eighteen months was considered by the researcher to be long enough for this clarification of the social worker's position to take place. This was not to imply, however, that no subsequent developments might emerge in the situation. Indeed, the data indicates that as the situation of the social worker changes, so too their experiences of satisfaction or identification with their work role reflect the

changes taking place and that the situation within the departments is a dynamic one. However, on the basis of the trends which did emerge during the period under study, it was possible to associate some changes with one type of experience or another. That, generally speaking changes which served to increase or preserve the intrinsic sets of satisfaction in the social work role developed greater sense of satisfaction and commitment to the work role within the department. On the other hand, changes which acted to impair these intrinsic sources of work satisfaction reduced the social workers' sense of commitment to both their role and to the organisation itself.

A Note on methodology.

It is regretted that the earlier reference to the 'Panel' method of analysing the data (cf. p 5) was not in fact developed in the thesis.

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(1) Lazarsfeld P.F. and Rosenberg. M. (Eds) The Language of Social Research pp. 231-259 1964

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE CHANGE IN THE SCOTTISH SOCIAL WORK SERVICES

Any study of the role of the social worker must begin by making some passing reference as to the nature of Social Work itself. One widely-reproduced statement on the nature and purpose of Social Work is that contained in the Younghusband Report which states: "The purpose of social work is to help individuals or families with various problems and to overcome or lessen these so that they may achieve a better personal, family or social adjustment." [1] Social work, according to such a definition, is an activity concerned with both the problems and the conduct of individuals in society. [2] Three main levels of explanation exist as to the cause of these problems and the behaviours to which they give rise: (1) psychological factors operating at the level of the individual's personality: (2) external social and cultural factors pressing on the individual: and (3) and combination of both personality characteristics and environmental presses. Today it is generally recognised by those attempting to explain and to cope with the problems confronting individuals and groups, that part of the cause of many social problems lies in the nature of the society in which the individual or group is located. Society itself may produce social disabilities for some of its members. This being so, society is expected to make available some provision which would attempt to alleviate, if not remove, the stresses imposed by modern living. Coyle states that as greater recognition is given to the role which society itself plays in generating problems for certain individuals

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1. Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Service. H.M.S.O. 1957, p.7.
2. D.Emmet 'Ethics and the Social Worker' p.17 in Social Work and Social Values. ed. Younghusband, 2nd Edition, 1970.

and groups, the social services provided by a society cease to become a matter of charity and become "matters of right". [3] Such a view was also presented by Smith when he stated that society owes to all its members the "right to life". [4] Society for its part, is seen as fulfilling its social contract with its members through the provision of the social and welfare services; the modern state organised or subsidised social services being a reflection of the state's responsibility for its members. The task of the social worker in the situation is both to provide a service and to enable the client or group to make effective use of the relevant services available in an effort to overcome the major obstacles to the individual's, or the group's, personal development and social growth. These objectives provide benefits not only for the individual, but also for the society, in that the successful use of these services by the client can be seen as making for better adjusted and more fully integrated and useful members of the community and, therefore, contributes to the general stability of the society as a whole.

Whilst the various social work services which existed had been designed to alleviate the problems of the individual or groups of such persons in the society, the growth of these services had been somewhat fortuitous. One result of this development was the fact that the social work services as a whole lacked any real sense of integration and common purpose. The services which were available worked more or less independently of other social work agencies and largely confined their activities on behalf of the client to the

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3. G.L. Coyle: "The Social Worker and His Society" p.47, in 'Social Work and Social Values' op.cit.

4. A.D. Smith: "The Right to Life" 1955.

to the legal and/or specialist framework within which each individual service operated. As a result, the situation was seen as one in which the client possibly failed to gain as much assistance from the different services as had been originally intended. Moreover, social workers, in their pursuit of the welfare of their respective clients, had themselves become aware of the various limitations which existed in the social work services available to the client in the community. It was this critical evaluation of the then existing provision of social work service, by both Government and professional Social Work bodies alike, which resulted in the two large programmes of reform which were designed to alter the shape and character of the social work services in Britain. These reforms applied to the provision of social work services in Scotland and in England and Wales. The nature of the proposed changes in the services of the two countries, Scotland on the one hand and England (and Wales) on the other, differed, however, in quite important respects. In Scotland the change in the services involved ALL the local authority social work employees, whereas in England the probation groups were excluded from the changeover legislation. Since the concern in this study is with the change in the role of the Scottish Local Authority-based social worker, the focus will now be concentrated on the factors which prompted the change in the social services in Scotland. The nature and the objectives of these changes were made explicit in the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968. The date of the implementation of that legislation marked the official change from the previous specialist-based agencies to the unified Social Work Departments.

The driving force behind the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 is thought to have been the Kilbrandon Report, 1961-4, which whilst concerned primarily with delinquency, gave priority to the diagnosis of the delinquent child's situation, both within the family and society.[5] The importance of the Kilbrandon Report lay in its recommendation of the merger of existing social work organisations concerned with meeting the special needs of children; a merger which the Report suggested would provide all the facilities needed for their care and treatment. Following Kilbrandon, a number of local authorities and professional associations concerned with the implications of the Report went further and recommended the setting-up of a new Social Work Department which would be more broadly based and which would cater for the needs of families as well as those of children. The significance of the Kilbrandon Report lay in the fact that it had arrived at a critical stage in discussions concerning both local government and professional reform and, as such, gave impetus to these reforms.

The professional specialist social work services in Britain had grown piecemeal over the years with local authority services developing in response to, and later becoming identified with, the needs of different categories of people at different points in time. Services for the young, the old, mentally sick, disabled, the deviant, etc., evolved at different points, each with its own specialist commitment to the task in hand. As a result of this piecemeal development, the dangers of overlap among the different services each involved with separate aspects of a problem besetting the same family, gave rise to questioning how efficiently social

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5. Kilbrandon Committee on Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Comm. 2306. H.M.S.O. pp.13-15.

work resources were being used in the community. Moreover the multiplicity of social work agencies meant that each branch of the service dealt fragmentally with the problem(s) of the family only as it related to itself and largely ignored the wider implications of the family's situation. Such overlap and myopia could only work to the disadvantage of the client and, indeed, of the development of a social work service. These objections were further regarded at the time as important reasons for rethinking the service. Moreover, social workers themselves had become increasingly aware of the interdependent nature of their work and also the fact that they were all regarded as sharing the same basic casework skills and the same general concern for the welfare of the client.

Concurrent with this development was the fact that social workers themselves were regarded as moving closer together in terms of their training and objectives. The setting up of the Standing Conference of Social Work in 1963, concerned with the co-ordination of the various specialist social work activities and the establishment of generic social work training for students, reflected something of the coming together of the different groups. Despite these moves at the level of the professional and training bodies, however, the then administrative structure of the different specialist branches of the service operated against attempts to provide social work assistance in cases which were not entirely within the remit of any one single agency. These restrictions, which were imposed by the limits of the specialist framework in which each group functioned, also generated a sense of frustration for those workers more concerned with the broader aspects of the

work. The desire for the removal of these administrative restrictions was a further objective in the restructuring of the then existing services available to the client.

One important motivation behind the formation and development of the new Social Work Department was the hope that a new service structure would increase the amount of co-operation and co-ordination between the different social work agencies and would also provide a more rational basis for helping the client and benefiting the community. This desire for a more rational, and thereby effective, service was one of two major reasons for the reorganisation. The old specialist services, whatever their contribution, had all tended to fragment the problems of the individual and his family.[6] The design of the new service structure was an attempt to overcome that tendency. The concern to provide a more rational and effective service which would overcome the restrictions and limitations of the various specialist-based agencies resulted in the formation of a group - the Social Work Services Group - composed of administrative civil servants and professional social workers, and it was from that body that the Social Work (Scotland) Bill, later to become the 1968 Act, emerged.

To a large extent the new services proposed under the 1968 (Scotland) Act were an outgrowth of the then existing specialist services. The aims of the Act, however, differed from those of the specialist-based agencies. Broadly speaking, the objectives of the new legislation could be broken down into two distinct areas - social and administrative. The social aims of the legislation were to promote welfare in the community and to provide

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6. Rowntree Memorial Trust Working Party. Preliminary Notes on Bringing the Act into Effect. Par. 135, p.47. 1968.

opportunities for social workers to engage in pioneer-type activities on behalf of the client and the community. The orientation of the new service was centred on the client in the community, rather than on the client as an isolated concern of the social worker. The objectives of the new service were that the social workers should be involved in altering the sources of the client's disorder, rather than treating the symptoms of the disorder.[7] Moreover, these problems were located in the wider community in which the individual client was situated. The notion of the area-based social work teams or neighbourhood units grew out of this importance which social workers attached to the community and the environment of the client. The administrative objectives of the new service were to increase the amount and kind of co-operation which took place between the different departments within the local authority; as, for example, housing, planning, education, etc., and the possible introduction into these areas of social work knowledge and expertise as well as the sharing of information from these bodies with the Social Work Department. The major administrative objective of the Act, however, was the simplification of the administration and the operation of the existing specialist social work agencies employed by or through the local authority. Four previously separate specialist groups which had operated on behalf of the local authority in the past were Probation, Child Care, Welfare and Mental Health Departments. The integration of these different services was seen as the first step to providing a more efficient and effective service, both to the client and to the community as a whole.

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7. Rowntree Memorial Trust Working Party. Preliminary Notes on Bringing the Act into Effect. Para. 23, p.9.

It was thought that the simplification of the then existing social work services would also clarify what was available by way of social work provision to the public. Such clarification would come about as the result of the fact that almost all social problems, other than medical problems, could be cleared by the new departments. This view gave rise to the term and concept of 'the Single Door'[8], the one single point in each area or community where the individual could be sure of having his problem dealt with rather than, as had been the practice in the past, people being passed on from one social work agency to another. It was also envisaged that the integration of social work staff from the different major specialist bodies would make for a more economic deployment of staff in the new departments. The fact that all social workers were seen as essentially operating on the same principles and with similar skills made such hopes possible. Finally, the aim of the service generally was to prevent the breakdown of the family or the individual and to maintain, as far as possible, the life of the community.

The Structure of the Specialist Groups pre-1969:

The structure of the social work agencies and their respective remit in the provision of social work services to the client stemmed largely from the powers which were vested in local authorities generally to provide advice, assistance and to promote welfare. These powers of the local authority were set out in a number of different pieces of legislation, the more important of these being:

The National Health Service (Scotland) Act, 1947;

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8. 'Social Work in the Community', p.12. Comm.3085, H.M.S.O. 1966.

The National Assistance Act, 1948;

The Mental Health (Scotland) Act, 1962;

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1962; and

The Children and Young Persons Act, 1963.

These powers were to be continued with modifications necessary to fit the new service. As already stated, the four main services involved under the new legislation (Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968), were:

Probation: Deals essentially with persons sent by the courts for supervision. Clients have a set time limit to their period of supervision, and this is laid down by the court. The department also deals with fine supervision orders. Probation deals essentially with obligatory relationships between social worker and client. These are made necessary by the court, and result from some misdemeanour on the part of the client.

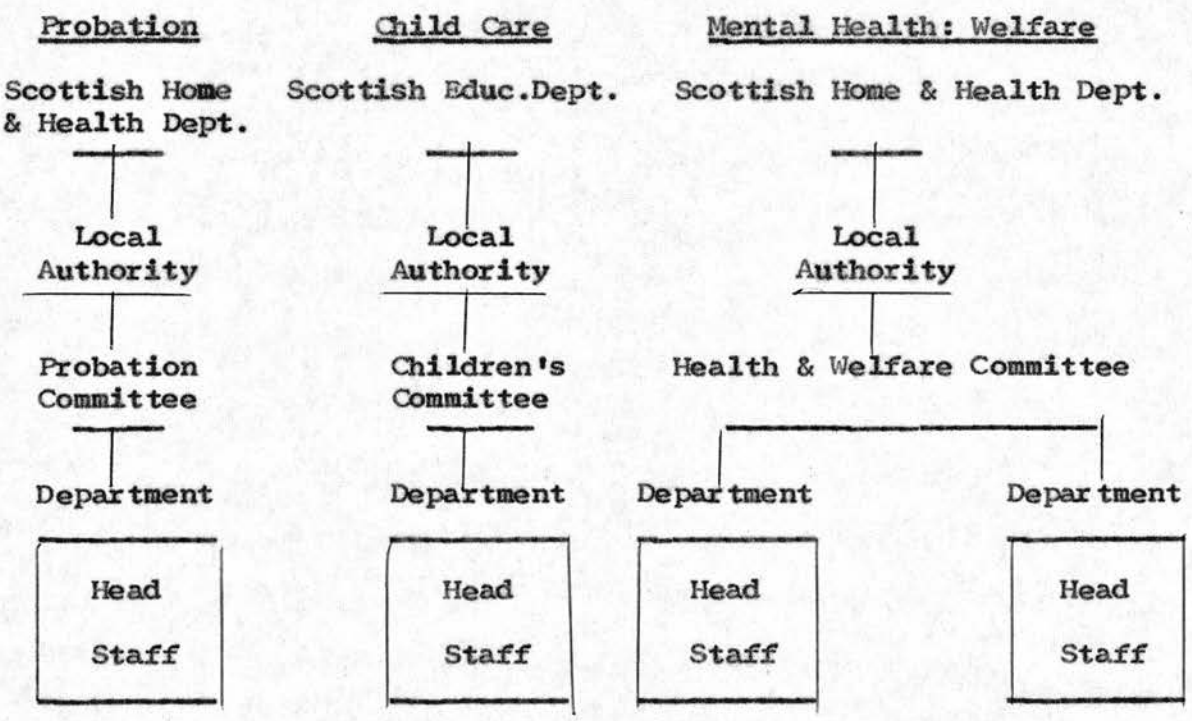
Child Care: In the main recruit their own clients, although court orders can be made. Deal with children in need. No set time limit to the relationship, up to 18 years, if child already in care of the department. Deals with most problems likely to result in deprivation for the child, e.g. neglect, eviction, illness, etc.

Mental Health: Functions are concerned with the mentally retarded or handicapped and the mentally ill person in the community. Referrals through the Education Department or the hospital.

Welfare: Deals essentially with the elderly and the physically handicapped. Makes provision for aids, home help and residential care, if necessary.

Each specialist department, prior to the change, had its own particular central government body which was responsible for the service's overall functioning. In practical terms, however, each department was organised by the committee of the local authority and the central government body was concerned primarily with inspectorate and training functions. The responsibility for operations within each agency was left very much in the hands of the chief officer of each separate agency and the appropriate committee for that branch of the service. The structure and line of responsibilities of the various departments prior to the changeover are shown below:

Social Work Services Structure, pre-1969:



The legislation contained in the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, proposed radical changes in the structure of the social work services at the level of the local authority. Under the Act, the onus was laid on the individual local authority to promote social

welfare.[9] Whilst local authorities were to be made subject to a central governmental body for general guidance, the guidance would be nominal and would not involve the power to command. Each local authority would, under the Act, set up a Social Work Committee, and could not make decisions affecting social work service without consulting that committee.[10] Each local authority had also to appoint a director or head of the new Social Work Departments who, together with the Social Work Committee, would be responsible for providing a comprehensive social work service to the community.

Apart from the Central Authority, in the guise of the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Social Work Services Group and the Advisory Group were to provide certain information and inspectorate services for the new departments. The judicial system, as it affected young people under sixteen years of age, was also to be re-structured and, on completion in 1970, this, the only other major external body to be strongly attached to the new departments, would complete the new structure. The following outline indicates both the relative simplicity of the new service structure over that of the old, and the lines of authority and the department's relationships with government and other bodies:

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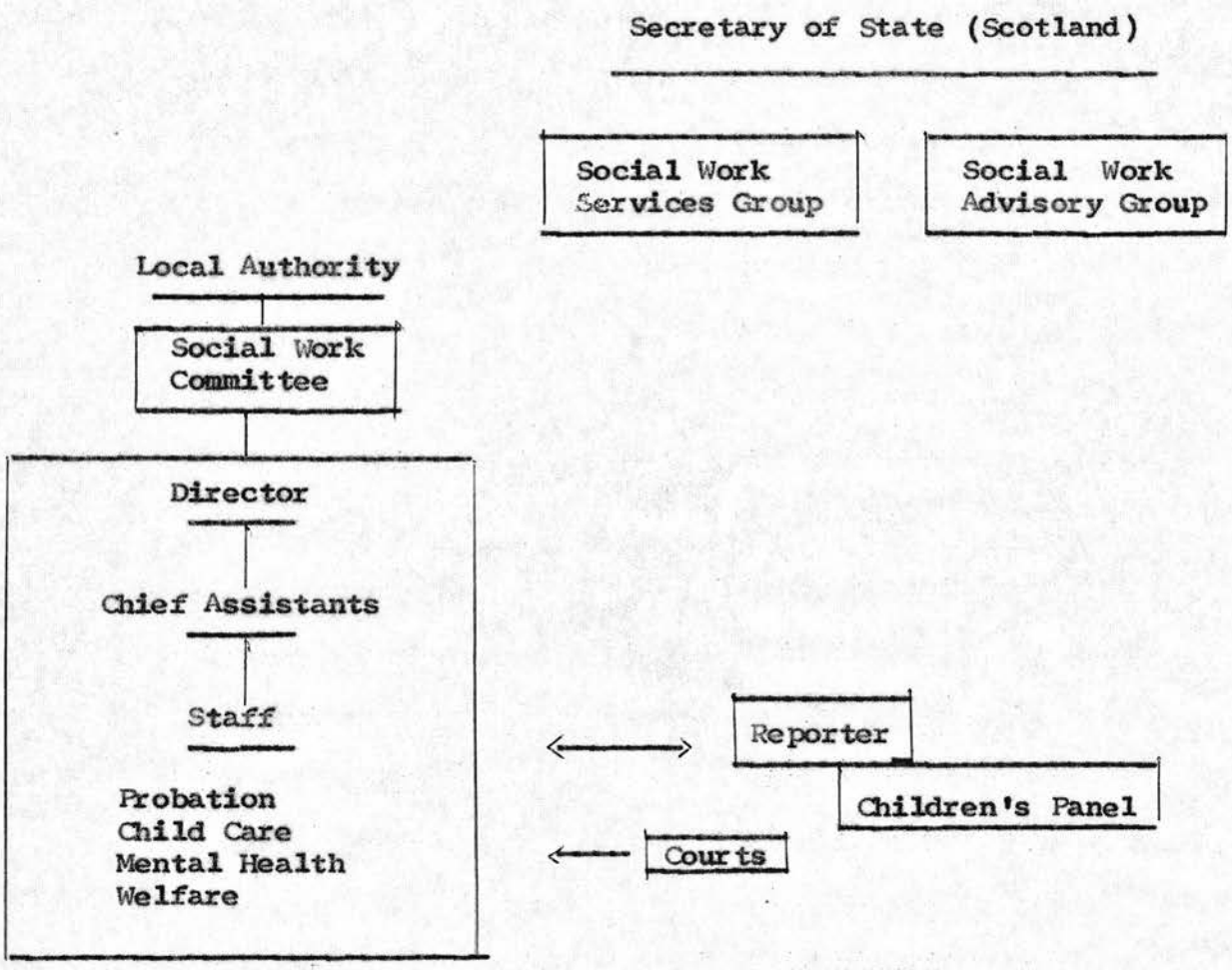
9. Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, para. 1, p.4.

10. Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1969, para.24, p.10.

The New Social Work Structure after November 1969:



Functions of the New Social Work Department:

The new Social Work Departments brought into being after 17th November 1969 would take over the services for mothers and children, elderly, handicapped, homeless and Probation. These obligations of the Department, however, were limited to the social needs of the client, and not the medical needs of the individual. The responsibility for deciding on and for implementing the policy of the new Department lay with the Social Work Committee and the Director of each Social Work Department.[11]

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11. Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1969, paras. 320, 330, 333. Pp.104-5

The general objectives of each department, however, were thought to be similar, and these were as follows:

Aims of the Service:-

a) To make the powers of the local authority to assist those in need more comprehensive;

b) To make services more accessible to clients;

c) To make more effective use of existing resources;

d) To provide a better service for staff;

e) To bring together residential and field work;

f) To simplify communications;

g) To enable local authorities to get advice from a single department;

h) To improve possibilities for preventive work and to promote a better social environment in the community;

i) To allow workers to establish special interests and develop common skills; and

j) To support the Children's Panels which would replace the juvenile courts - although that change would not take place until 1970.[12]

These objectives of the new legislation were virtually paralleled in the later Seebohm proposals which were concerned with similar reorganisation of social work services in England.[13] One notable difference between the Scottish and the English proposals, however, lay in the fact that the Probation group were not to be included in the re-integration of the English services. The fact that they had been deliberately excluded from the integration was the result of the resistance on the part of the

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12. A.J.B. Rowe. 'The Future of Social Work', p.6.

13. G. Smith. 'Some Research Implications of the Seebohm Report', pp.297-8, in 'British Journal of Sociology', Vol. 22, 1971.

English Probation Service to be included in the new departments. However, the fact that such proposals had originally been made and that a degree of integration of social work services was scheduled to take place some time in the early '70's indicated that the amalgamation of social work departments was a general feature and source of discussion of the day, and not one which simply affected the Scottish social workers who are the subject of this particular study.

The Role of the professional Social Worker:

The social workers, prior to the changeover to the new social work service structure, operated as specialist social workers employed by a particular specialist social work agency of the local authority. The change to the new social work structure, however, had been interpreted by social workers in the field as involving not only the amalgamation of the different specialist services, but also of the different specialist roles. Social workers saw the move to the new service structure as one which involved social workers in relinquishing a specialist role and commitment for that of a generic role. Under the latter role, the social worker would be obliged to take on a variety of social work tasks and responsibilities which, prior to the changeover, would have been regarded as outwith their respective areas of professional concern and competence. This view of the then impending changeover was interesting in as much as neither the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, nor the White Paper, 'Social Work in the Community', explicitly suggest that social workers should be called upon to take up these wider role commitments, although the tone and content of these documents appeared to imply

such changes in the workers' role.[14] Certainly, in the case of the two large Social Work Departments in this study, there had been an official commitment made by these departments to adopt the wider generic social work role for their respective staff. The change over to the new Social Work Service in these two Social Work Departments, therefore, involved both the restructuring of the social work services available to the client and also the broadening of the content and the responsibilities of the role of the social work staff.

The adoption by these departments of the broader social work role could, at that time, have been expected to have given rise to certain misgivings and doubts on the part of the then specialist workers. These misgivings could be seen to have resulted from the fact that few social workers were trained in a generic role capacity. If social workers were trained, it was generally for a particular branch of the service - Probation, Child Care, etc. Moreover, there was the possibility that social workers had developed attachments to their respective specialist areas and that these would be lost by undertaking a generic role in the new departments. The change to the new service structure, therefore, provided the possibilities for costs, as well as benefits for those taking part in the changeover - the costs of the situation possibly lying in the loss of specialist identity and area of work. The benefits which it was suggested would be available for the worker lay in their continued professional development which the changeover entailed. Since social work literature makes the point that any social work service is only

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14. H.W.Maier. 'New Wines for Old Bottles', p.26, in 'International Social Work', Vol.XII, No.4, 1969.

as good as the quality of those who man that service, an important area of concern was obviously with the meanings which social workers at the time associated with the change, and their degree of commitment to the changes proposed by the new legislation.

How the social workers themselves perceived and responded to the demands made on them to adopt the wider generic social work role, would obviously influence the kind of service provided to the client. A possibly limiting factor in the implementations of the generic social work role lay in the strength of the commitment which social workers felt towards their own particular specialism, and the extent to which their engagement in that area provided skills and knowledge which were readily transferrable to other situations.

CHAPTER 2

THE SPECIALIST SERVICES.

A reading of the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, indicates that the Act had two important objectives. The first was to promote social welfare in the community and the second was to make the administrative machinery of the local authority more effective to cope with its task. To a very large extent the realisation of the first objective - the promotion of social welfare in the community - was heavily dependent on the success of the second objective, namely the adaptation of the local authority social work machinery to meet the problems in hand. The reduction of the social problems in the community could hopefully be attained through the successful integration and redeployment of the specialist services and their staff which existed prior to the 1968 legislation being introduced. The integration of these services was seen at that time as making for a more efficient, effective and economical use of local authority manpower and resources. The integration of social work staff had the advantage of combining the total social work services of the local authority under one roof and, therefore, simplified the service for the client. The unification of the specialist services and their personnel would permit a broader attack on the problems besetting the client and the community, and would also remove the tendency towards fragmentation which had been a feature of the services prior to the introduction of the 1968 legislation.

The success of the new measures, however, depended largely on the ability and the willingness of the then specialist social

workers to make the necessary personal adjustments in their role as social workers of the local authority. Part of that adjustment involved the social work staff in casting aside their specialist role and social work identity in favour of the adoption of the broader generic social work role which would be more in keeping with the objectives of the new Social Work Service. This new generic role involved the social workers in types of work and with clients which would hitherto have been outwith their specialist province.[1] There had, of course, been some moves made in the direction of establishing generic social work training courses or building in a generic component to the training of social workers in the mid- and late sixties, but that situation had not been greatly developed at the stage when the new legislation was introduced in 1968. The number of generic-based social workers in Scotland was relatively few, with by far and away the majority of trained social workers having been trained in a specialist capacity. This general absence of a generic-based background among the social workers was important, in as much as a major implicit assumption of the 1968 legislation was that social workers did, in fact, possess and operate with the same or similar skills and expertise. Indeed, in the absence of such a belief, the whole concept of the integrated social work services and staff is untenable.

The critical question in the mind of the researcher was the extent to which the assumptions of common ground and knowledge among the different specialist social work staff involved in the changeover proposals of 1968 were justified. Few specialist social

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1. Anne Lapping - 'Is the Family Service enough?' - New Society, August, 1965, p.16.

workers had undergone what could pass as a generic or rounded social work training, and whilst all trained social workers had been taught casework skills, the problem remained as to whether or not such casework training was, by itself, sufficient to assume a sense of common purpose and identification with the problems of the client. The proposals contained in the 1968 legislation played down the possibility of specialist social work staff failing to adapt to the change, or of having difficulties in making the necessary transition from a specialist to a generic-based social worker. Whether or not that assumption was justified in the situation could only be assessed by an examination of the basis on which each of the different specialist groups at the time operated and from such an examination determine the amount of common ground which, in fact, existed among the different specialist bodies. The following review of the four different specialist groups involved in the changeover proposals of 1968, however, suggests that the optimism grounded on the assumed common base on which social workers operated was, if not unfounded, at least partially exaggerated at the time.

History of the Probation Service:

The Probation service in Britain has been the outgrowth of nineteenth century humanistic approaches to, and concern for, the welfare of the individual in society. Piecemeal attempts had been made by local magistrates and voluntary bodies to alleviate some of the harsher aspects of the judiciary system, but it was not until the successful results of experiments with 'probation' in Boston, Mass., U.S.A., that British public opinion was favourably

influenced along similar lines. The Probation Act 1878 (U.S.A.) appointed certain salaried probation officers to certain courts. They were given the responsibility by the courts of assisting probationers in overcoming the social and personal difficulties which contributed to their original court appearances. In Britain, the Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887, only provided for what amounted to a 'conditional' discharge, without the benefit of supervision, and it was not until thirty years later that supervision of an offender was provided under the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907.[2] Under this Act, probation officers were appointed so that the courts might have qualified people to 'advise, assist and befriend' offenders whom the courts had decided to release.[3] Such supervision and assistance would hopefully enable probationers to comply with the requirement to be of 'good' behaviour - a general condition of probation orders. From its inception, probation was to be available for a whole range of offenders and offences (except those for which there already existed a stipulated legal penalty), and was not to be confined simply to juveniles or petty offenders.* It was the responsibility of the courts, both then and now, to determine those offenders most suited to benefit from probation.[4] The importance

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2. P. Parsloe : 'The Work of the Probation and After-Care Officer' - p.3.

3. 'The Probation Service in Scotland', p.5.

* But, in Scotland, probation was still widely regarded as intended primarily for juveniles and young offenders - Morrison Report, 1962, para.11, p.3.

4. 'The Probation Service in Scotland', p.6.

of the 1907 Act lay in that it provided the basis for the growth of the statutory Probation Service and also established the nature of the historical link between that branch of the Social Services and the courts.[5] However, it was not until the 1930's that the Probation Service was divorced from its links with voluntary bodies and the development of a complete professionally-trained and oriented agency became a possibility. Since that time the professional training of recruits into the service has been a focal concern.

Organisation of the Service:

In Scotland, as distinct from the rest of Britain, the Probation of Offenders (Scotland) Act, 1931, required the appointment of Probation Officers for every probation area in the country. To ensure efficiency of both service and staffing, the combination of districts (counties and large burghs) was encouraged, and each district or area appointed a Probation Committee to administer the organisational aspects of the service at local levels.[6] These committees appointed Probation Officers in the field and were engaged in exercising a degree of control and supervision over their work.[7] One apparent outcome of the development of the service, at least at the local level, being in the hands of these ad hoc committees, was that it produced a weaker service than its counterpart in England and Wales and also a service less closely identified with the court.[8] As a committee, the Probation Committee in Scotland had less prestige than other committees of the

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5 : P. Parsloe - op.cit. p.4.

6 : 'Probation Service in Scotland',p.4.

7 : 'Probation Service in Scotland',p.6.

8 : Report of the Departmental Committee on the Probation Service par.245/6, pp.93/4. (Reference to the above report will henceforth refer to the Morison Report, 1962).

local authority, and whilst statute authorised them to appoint probation staff, any increase of staff was referred to the local authority before any proposal was implemented. Interest in the nature of, and concern for, the development of the Probation Service by the Scottish Probation Committees was something which the Morison Committee felt could not generally be taken for granted. This Report of 1962 saw the principal failure of the Scottish Service's development lying in the administrators' view of the service as local authority-based, rather than court-oriented.[9] (The importance of this point should not be neglected when considering the later discussion of the impact of change on the Probation Officers in this particular study). The growth of probation as a service, therefore, was more limited, both numerically and in terms of scope, when compared with its counterpart in England and Wales.

The Role of the Probation Officer:

At field work level, the role of the Probation Officer, as well as that of other social workers, could be thought of as being composed of three distinct elements, at least when viewed from the angle of the administrator of the Service and that of the particular applicant for the post. The three dimensions of the role are: Role Obligations, or statutory functions and related duties under the various Probation Acts; Role Orientation, or the professional ideology or code of ethics which spell out the appropriate attitudinal response in fulfilling these obligations; and Role Rewards, or, what is gained by the individual in meeting these other requirements of the role. Considering first the functions and duties of the Scottish probation officer in the field, one finds that his

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9. Morison Report, 1962. para.246, p.94.

range of statutory obligations are narrower than that of his colleagues elsewhere in the country as a whole, and that his services were used in a more limited way, dealing essentially with the younger offender.[10] The main statutory obligations of the probation officer are:

a) on instruction by the court, to provide background reports and assist the court in determining the most suitable method of disposal.[11]

b) to keep in close touch with the probationer, unless there is good reason for not doing so.[12]

c) to ensure that proper records are kept of every person under supervision, or towards whom he has statutory duties to perform.[13]

d) to ensure that the period of supervision laid down in the Probation Order will not be more than three years, or less than one year.[14]

e) to keep the court informed, or to bring back before the court those probationers who fail to comply with the requirements of their Probation Order.[15].

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10 Morison Report. op cit. para.72, p.30.

10 J.E. Roberts "Social Work Education for the Probation Officer in Scotland, 1970" - M.Sc.Thesis, Edin. Univ.

11 Morison Report - para.30, p.12.

12 Probation Rules, 1949. Rule 51.

13 Probation Rules, 1949. Rule 47.

14 Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act, 1947, Sect. 2(1).

15 Morison Report - para.88, p.38.

f) under the Children and Young Persons Acts, to supervise children under 17 years who are in need of care and protection, are beyond control, fail to attend school regularly, but who are not necessarily delinquent.+

g) to make enquiries for the court in connection with certain divorce proceedings where custody of the children may be in issue.[16]

h) to carry out their After-Care duties with respect to ex-inmates of penal institutions.[17]

i) to carry out escort duties for the courts.

j) to carry out supervision of money payment orders by the court. (Fines supervision).

The second component of the Probation Officer's role, his orientation to the work, is best described by referring to the process whereby he is expected to meet the foregoing role obligations or requirements. It was the 'duty' of probation officers to supervise probationers, and, in doing so, 'to advise, assist and befriend' them*. The probation officer's approach to this commitment should be greatly influenced by the professional skills and knowledge at his disposal, the most important of these skills being the use of the casework technique. Casework has been described as 'the creation and utilisation, for the benefit of an individual who needs help with personal problems, of a relationship between himself and a trained social worker'.[18]

+ In practice, the choice of supervising officer is between the Probation and Local Authority Children's Department Officers. Court decides which.

16. Matrimonial Proceedings (Children) Act, 1958, Sect.11.

17. Joan King - 'Probation and After-Care Service', p.97.

* Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act, 1949. Third Schedule, para.4.

18. Morison Report - para.56, p.24.

The value system contained in this particular approach to the client and his problems consists of a number of elements, the most important of these being -

a) that every individual has intrinsic worth and is of equal value,

b) that the client lives in a particular social context and is influenced by that context,

c) that the client is influenced by his past, which influences his present and future behaviour,

d) that knowledge of (b) and (c) are necessary for effective use of the casework relationship,

e) that individuals can change,[19]

f) that acceptance of the client is crucial in establishing the casework relationship.*

Training and Selection:

Because of these value orientations towards the client and his problems and the adoption of the casework method as a basic tool in their work, concern with training and selection of probation officers had grown apace with the development of the service. The probation officer had had to learn to present his views publicly (in court) and in ways which were acceptable to the court. They had the duty to elicit information, both directly from the client and from other sources (family, documents, other agencies) which would provide a clearer picture of the client's situation, whilst in no way overburdening the court with less than pertinent information. Skill in the preparation of court reports, plus punctuality of reports, was considered a major

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19 Mark Monger - 'Casework in Probation', p.6.

* P. Parsloe. op cit. p.88. The point is made that probation officers are taught to accept the person, but not the crime.

dimension of their work. These attributes, which Parsloe saw as not necessarily being shared by other social workers, were, nonetheless, vital to the functioning of probation officers attached to the courts.[20] The demands of the particular setting in which the probation officer's work was located called for both knowledge of the social sciences and of the agency in which he was employed. Probation officers were required to know the ways of the court as well as have a general understanding of human behaviour. (Roberts). Over and above this, they required specialist knowledge of the kinds of behaviour shown by people who are in conflict with the laws of society. Academic training and experience in the work situation, therefore, provided the authority base or expertise of the men and women in the particular branch of the social work service.

In Scotland, access to training for probation work was generally by way of selection from the Central Register which had been established in 1945. This register contained the names of suitable candidates for entry into the training courses and the selection of applicants was invariably made from this list.* Thereafter, the successful candidate typically went on to complete a one-year training course at Glasgow. The service in Scotland, at least from 1960 onwards, therefore, contained a growing number of locally-trained probation officers, which had the effect of producing a more homogenous body of officers in terms of training

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20 P. Parsloe. op.cit. p.85.

J.E. Roberts : 'Social Work Education for the Probation Service in Scotland', p.23. M.Sc.Thesis, Edin.Univ., 1970.

* Probation Committees in Scotland could not appoint persons who were not on the Central Register, except with specific approval of the Secretary of State for Scotland. Morison Report, par.272, p.105.

experience and background than was commonly found among the social work profession generally.

Over and above the academic suitability of the selected probation trainees came the personality characterisations of the intending officers, and these were viewed as equally important in the selection process.[21] John St.John suggests that the personality of the officer is crucial in that probation is much more than the mere acquisition of information and the mastering of particular techniques, but that "probation is an art".[22]

The success or otherwise of the service offered to the probationer or client was seen as depending largely on the calibre of the individual probation officer. The probation officer should have compassion and understanding, both of the client and of his own personal motivations; he must be prepared to take on a variety of problems and types of clients and, above all, must accept these people as being of worth.* Probation officers had to accept and to recognise the authority of the court and the authority vested in them by the court. The probation officer had to recognise, or be taught to accept, both the limitations involved in working within the legal framework of the courts and the validity of these limitations.

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21. Roberts. op.cit. pp. 86-8.

22. J. St.John - 'Probation - The Second Chance', p.258.

* A major dilemma which could arise in the Probation Service was the potential conflict between acceptance of the client and the officer's sense of responsibility to the wider society whose rules the probationer had in some way violated. Parsloe, op.cit. p.88.

> "He will be expected to produce reports on time, within the framework laid down by Parliament... and... undertake the work given to him by the court".[23]
>
> "It is not simply a question of book learning... he has to come to terms with the emotions aroused by working in this particular setting".[24]

One of the contextual constraints operating on the probation officer, as opposed to that of other social workers, was that it was typically the court, rather than the client himself, which determined the need for his relationship and involvement with the client.[25] The probation officer had to be prepared to accept the ensuing difficulties which could arise out of such a situation. The importance of each of the foregoing points being that the nature of probation work "...affects the kinds* of people who want to enter the probation service."[26]

Role Rewards:

Any activity may be thought of as containing certain attractive or negative features which will encourage or discourage individuals from becoming involved in that particular area. Where the activity is sustained behaviour, as in a work role, then, given that the individual has some freedom of choice as to which area of work he might enter into, the features of the job assume a degree of importance for the prospective employee. One of the more attractive features which a professional* type job might have to offer, over and above that of other types of work, is the imputed

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23. P. Parsloe. op.cit. p.27.
24. J. King. op.cit. p.242.
25. J. King. op.cit. p. 47.
26. P. Parsloe. op.cit. p. 28.

* My emphasis.

sense of personal involvement and expression which such work offers the individual.

> "His job (probation) will give him opportunities to come to terms with some of his own conflicts and it will satisfy some of his own needs..... If it does not, it is unlikely that he will stay in the job, and certain that he will be of little use at it. Some of the reasons why he came into social work at all, and then into a particular branch of it, are also the reasons why he can do the work well." [27]

One of the things which the probation officer must come to terms with is his attitudes towards, and his own use of, authority. This particular feature of the probation officer's role could act as both a magnet or a constraint on those who would join, or who could comfortably remain within, the service.

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27 P. Parsloe - op cit. pp. 81-2.

* Professional: Although there is a degree of controversy over the proper definition of a profession, I propose to follow the criterion set by Greenwood and regard a profession as an occupational group who possess a special body of theory related to the skills of their tasks; who have some degree of control over selection and entry into the group and for the training of the group; who have a code of ethics and who possess a remit from the society to engage in that particular occupational sphere which is regarded as more of a service to the community and the client than as a job or piece of work. I also regard the concept of the profession as involving a degree of autonomy for the individual based on his skills and expertise and that such individuals develop a sense of personal involvement in their work over and above that expected for non-professional occupations. Greenwood in Vollmer and Mills eds. Professionalisation.

> "Being an officer of the court brings its own pleasures and problems. A court is regarded as a dramatic, exciting place,.... Something of these feelings rub off on to the probation officer, and there is excitement in being part of such an institution, of being an insider.... a feeling of belonging." [28]

Probation involves work with people who are less likely to evoke sympathy in the community, and in this context, the general 'desire to help people' took on special significance for many probation officers. Also, unlike most other social work agencies, the work of the probation officer had been sex segregated to some degree, with males working with the adolescent and older male offenders and females with delinquents and female offenders. The possibility of working with a more specific category of people in need of help, moreover, appeared to have played an important part in the attractiveness of the work for some employees. A final factor is that the probation service is also a male-dominated service and, as such, could be expected to appeal to some individuals more than others.

CONCLUSION:

This brief overview of the probation service illustrates the point that it has a considerable history of its own and had a particular attachment to the court. These historical developments and associations have influenced the shaping of the modern probation service up until the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, and the calibre and training of those who were selected and encouraged to enter this field. The requirements of the court

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28. P. Parsloe. op.cit. p.84.

system and the nature of the problems and behaviour of the clients had strongly influenced the kind of knowledge base and the skills which had developed for that particular branch of the social work service. Moreover, the nature of the clientele (essentially offenders against the law) and the social context of much of the work (mainly court related work) were seen as operating selectively on those who were attracted into the service. The work was described as a 'calling', or a vocation, and even as 'an art'. To the extent that such views of the probation service were accurate, the officers who manned the service could also be regarded as something of a breed apart; as specialists in their field, rather than simply social workers in the general sense of the term.

HISTORY OF THE CHILD CARE SERVICE:

The services for the care and protection of children in Britain have also developed haphazardly, with one major strand in this development extending back into the 16th and 17th centuries.* For the greater part of that time, the majory of children had been covered by the general system of Poor Law relief and this remained broadly so until changes in legislation in the 1940's. In the first half of the twentieth century the largest single category of children in public care came under the official heading of 'destitute' and were covered by the Poor Law legislation of 1930. Under this particular piece of legislation, local authorities had a duty to take children into care where parents had, for one reason or another, been unable or unwilling to provide them with proper care; or where such dhildren had been committed to the care of the local authority via the court. However, the responsibility for

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* The Elizabethan Statute, the Poor Law Relief Act, 1601, provided the first major piece of legislation affecting the care and protection of children. J.S.Heywood 'Children in Care', p140.

children who came into care as the result of such adverse family circumstances was divided among a variety of bodies at both central and local government levels.[1] Moreover, these services catering for these groups of deprived children often developed and were administered without concern or reference to the work of each other. The end result of that development was that the services were both bitty and overlapping. The growing concern for children as a special category which had received piecemeal articulation in health, education and factory reforms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became increasingly more acute during the period of the Second World War.[2] With the war came new categories of children; orphans and evacuees, in need of care. This concern continued after the war had ended, for it was realised that many such children could not be reunited with relatives, for a variety of reasons. In 1945, the Curtis Committee (Clyde Committee in Scotland) was set up to enquire into the existing methods of caring for children who were deprived of a normal home life with parents or relatives, and to consider means which could in some way compensate for this hardship.[3] A second influence was the degree of public concern arising out of the neglect, maltreatment and subsequent death of a child in the care of a local authority and the resulting official enquiry into the tragedy.[4] A third important factor was the Beveridge Report which, whilst concerned with National Assistance, affected child care in that it advocated the abolition of the Poor Law so that, in any event, the administration and care of deprived children

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1. The Report of the Committee on Homeless Children (Clyde Report) par. 76/7, p.22.
2. The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. Education (Administration Provisions) Act, 1907. (Medical Care) are both indicative of the trends of the time.
3. Clyde Report.
4. Report on the Boarding Out of Dennis & Terence O'Neill (Monckton Report 1945/6).

would have had to have been reviewed. Both the Curtis and Clyde Committees were important in that they were the first committees to enquire specifically into the needs of deprived children as a special category. In Scotland, the Clyde Report recommended both a new and a more simplified and unitary administrative structure and called for a rise in the quality of care provided.

The Children Act, 1948, came out on the same day as the National Assistant Act, which brought an end to the system of Poor Law Relief and its ties with the Child Care Service.[5] The 1948 Act, however, was somewhat limited in that it was concerned with the service as essentially a 'residential' care service, rather than as community or preventive oriented work. A great deal of the residential care, however, was becoming more 'short-term'. It was the Children and Young Persons Act, 1963, which was to provide the necessary statutory powers which would enable 'preventive'-type child care work tobe undertaken in a systematic way. The 1963 Act extended the powers of the local authority to promote the welfare of children by providing advice, guidance and assistance and, in exceptional circumstances, by giving cash, thereby diminishing the need to bring or to keep children in care.[6]

ORGANISATION OF THE CHILD CARE SERVICE:

The Clyde Report, 1945 (Scotland) recommended that the existing fragmentary arrangements and machinery for the care of deprived children be swept away and replaced by Children's Committees attached to the local authority and with the specific function of supervising the service for deprived children in their

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5. Children Act, 1948, par.1, p.1.
6. Children and Young Persons Act, 1963, par.1, p.1.

particular area. These 'Children's Care Committees', as they were called, were to be given the exclusive duty of caring for deprived children and the Report recommended that one such committee be set up in each county or large burgh. The objective was to ensure that one authority had a uniform jurisdiction and greater overview of the needs of their charges, instead of the then existing overlapping bodies with varying degrees of responsibility and commitments. The Children Act, 1948, implemented the idea of Children's Committees and recommended that these members on the committee should compose a majority of local authority councillors, although other interested and qualified persons could also be enlisted. This committee was to assume the responsibilities which had fallen on the local authority in respect of deprived children as the result of the new legislation. The 1948 Act also empowered the local authority to appoint a Children Officer and child care staff and other staff to assist him in the pursuit of his duties.[7] Unlike the Probation Officers, the Children Officer and his child care staff were in a direct sense employees of the local authority although in the case of the appointment of the Children's Officer, the Secretary of State had to confirm the appointment. In Scotland in 1963 there were 52 Children's Departments, most of them very small, with three of these departments employing one-third of the total number of field work staff in the country.[8]

Under the 1948 legislation, the local authority had the duty to take children into care, where necessary, to secure opportunity

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7. Child Care, 1952 (Scottish Education Department), p.1.

8. Staffing of Local Authority Children's Departments, 1963. para.42, p.17.

for the personality development of the child and effect his reunion with his family. Children in the care of the local authority could remain in care* until their 18th birthday. The duty of the Children's Committee was to ensure the welfare of children placed in residential establishments and homes, and to carry out these and other preventive duties under the 1963 Act through the Children's Officer and his field staff. In Scotland the numbers of people directly concerned in these operations at field level was relatively small when compared with those of England and Wales. In Scotland in 1967 there were 51 Children's Officers and 176 full-time and 17 part-time field staff (less than half being professionally trained).[9]

THE ROLE OF THE CHILD CARE OFFICER:

The role of the Child Care Officer, like that of the other social workers mentioned in the study, has three integral parts: Role Obligations (duties), Role Orientation (values and ideologies) and Role Rewards (benefits). Timms believed that the Child Care Officer's role could be conceptualised in these terms, for when he posed the question "What is a child care officer?" he suggested that her role could be explained in terms of:

> "The behaviour that is expected of someone in the position of child care officer to the feelings and attitudes that should be displayed and to the rewards that can be legitimately taken."[10]

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* Care effectivity took three forms: (1) boarding-out or foster care, which was the most preferred way of placing a child at that time; (2) residential care in a local authority home; (3) residential care in a home run by a voluntary social work agency.

9 Child Care in Scotland, 1967. par.19, p.9.

10 N. Timms ' Casework in the Child Care Service', p.156.

Role Obligations: Unlike the probation officer, whose statutory and related obligatory duties emanate from or are connected to the work of the court, the local authority child care officer typically comes by her obligatory duties and related work by way of the Children's Officer and the functions invested in him as the official representative of the local authority with respect to the needs of deprived children. The statutory duties which are liable to fall on the child care officer in this manner are:

a) To investigate every application for any child under 17 years to be received into care, and, where appropriate, receive him into care,

b) to carry out parental responsibilities and duties entrusted to the local authority for children committed to their care by the court,

c) to provide a substitute home and assess the suitability of every prospective foster home, bearing in mind the needs of children. (The selection of suitable foster parents is a highly skilled task of the Child Care Officer).[11]

d) to supervise all children placed in foster homes.[12]

e) to visit children in residential homes (working under the supervision of the Children's Officer she receives children into care and visits them more than anyone else does).[13]

f) to supervise adoption procedures*

g) to restore children in the care of the local authority to their parents, where possible.

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11 'Staffing of Local Authority Children's Departments', par.12, p.22

12 op.cit. 1

13 op.cit. 1, par.4, p.8

* In practice few Child Care Officers will deal with this rather specialist aspect of the work.

h) to supervise children placed privately with foster parents for gain,

i) to do court duties on those occasions where the local authority propose to commit a child to care,

j) to keep records of casework which are a tool as well as necessary for the department,[14]

k) to advise, assist and promote the welfare of the child by diminishing the need to receive him to care or to keep him in care.[15]

The second part of the child care officer's role - her Role Orientation - is made up of sets of values and attitudes regarding how she is expected to respond to her role obligations or duties. These are the values which employing bodies and, more so, training bodies, wish the child care officer to combine as part of her overall role. The types of values which she is encouraged to develop are influenced by the clientele for whom she has responsibility, particularly, Timms suggests, the child, as evidenced by the following remarks:

> "It is, of course, extremely difficult to work in a Children's Department without becoming child-centred."[16]

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14 op.cit. par.20, p.23

15 Children and Young Persons Act, 1963, par.1, p.1.

* For a more detailed list of Child Care Duties, see J.Stroud, 'An Introduction to the Child Care Service', pp.15-16.

16 N. Timms, op.cit. p.170

and, again,

> "This does not mean that the parent is seen simply and insistently as a parent. He is seen as a person with his own needs and problems, but the worker sees these problems in relation to his position as a parent."[17]

Hack states that the officer's identification is with the child.

The child is seen as a person with needs peculiar to himself and the worker is required to recognise the existence of these needs in her work. In her attempts to help the child, either directly or through the child's parents or some form of substitute care, the child care officer is herself seen as an important instrument in effecting change. One vehicle for effecting this change in,or on behalf of, the client is the use of the 'casework relationship'. Casework is seen as 'the establishment of a relationship on a professional level and by this attempts to bring (the client) to a state of independence.'[19]

"This is contrary to the rather commonly held belief that work with children requires no professional knowledge or skill, but can be undertaken by a motherly figure on the basis of kindness and common-sense."[19]

'Professional' in this context means not only the techniques involved in the practice of casework, but also the principles

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17 N. Timms, op.cit. p.152

18 K.A.Hack 'Prediction of Scores on a Social Work Course' in British Journal of Social Work, Vol.3, 1973.

19 V. Hiddleston 'The Work of a Child Care Officer' (Staffing report op cit.), par.4, p.20.

19 V. Hiddleston op.cit. par.1, p.20

involved. These basic casework principles and values are essentially the same for all categories of social work. In the field of child care they include:

a. The recognition of the individual as a person with rights and needs,

b. the principle of acceptance of the client,

c. provision of help,

d. change, both in the client and his situation[20], and

e. the belief that the past influences the present and the future.[21]

Because of the importance of these sets of beliefs for effective casework relationship with the client, the training and selection of suitable applicants has become of more focal concern since the 1948 legislation. The Central Training Council in Child Care was set up in 1947 and the title 'Child Care Officer' was adopted for training courses in 1954 because it was felt that the nature of the work was no longer confined exclusively to boarding-out children, but to a wider range of duties connected to the child and his home.[22] This broadening of scope was made explicit in the statutory duties laid down in the 1963 Act, which -

> "moved away from a protective child centred approach to....family centred work"[23]

Because of the increased scope of the work, the knowledge base of training also widened to include knowledge and understanding of theories of child development; class; role; personality, as well as particular knowledge relating to the effects of different types

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20 V. Hiddleston, op.cit. par.4, p.20

21 N. Timms. op.cit. p.39

22 The Report of the Children's Department, 1955, par.132-3, p.28

23 J.S. Heywood 'Children in Care' p.191

of care. This knowledge, which is crucial, is conveyed in several aspects of her work; for example:

> "as far as possible to help those who have daily care of a child to help that child more effectively, bearing in mind that a caseworker has specialist knowledge..."[24]
>
> (work with residential staff)

and, again:

> "The essence of a child care officer's work with foster parents is to choose them and to help them to take into their home and care for the child of other parents. This work is neither simple nor easy."[25]
>
> "Faced with this responsible decision and armed with knowledge."[26]

The imparting of both theoretical and practical knowledge, therefore, has become a major element in the training of child care officers over the last twenty years or so. Another, and an important area of knowledge which both training bodies and employing agencies seek to impart, is knowledge of the particular framework - both legislative and local - of the Children's Departments for whom Child Care Officers will typically work.

> "What matters is that the kind of help given is appropriate in the light of both the caseworker's understanding of the client's personality and of the 'function' of the agency the caseworker represents."[27]

Child Care Officers, like other types of social workers, have been encouraged to work within the framework of their respective agency functions.

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24 N. Timms. opcit. p.60
25 N. Timms. op.cit.p. 89
26 N. Timms, op.cit.p.95
27 N. Timms, op. cit.pp.21-2

These role demands of the work of a child care officer necessitated some standard of selection of personnel into the work. The qualities to be sought (at least those which run through the child care literature) are those of sympathy, understanding, a desire to help others in difficulty, patience, ability to advise (wisely or informatively) and support, and a degree of intelligence. Over and above this is the need for the child care officer to be able to come to terms with personal conflicts in certain situations involving clients.[28] Stroud, speaking of the role of the child care officer in a Children's Department, says that it is '... a service whose demands are complex and often intense.'[29] The selection of applicants for this particular type of work, therefore, calls for a degree of deliberation, as more than the academic suitability of the applicant is brought into question. It is her total personality which is appraised.

Rewards. Given the rather strenuous demands of the work and the importance of the sets of values which are attached to it in the selection process, what types of people might most typically be attracted to this branch of social work and what, if any, are the role Rewards which act as possible incentives to enter that particular field? Part of the reward which appears to be available within the Child Care Service - excluding for the moment the material considerations - is the notion of the work itself. The role of the child care officer is portrayed as requiring a high

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28 J. Stroud 'An Introduction to the Child Care Service' states: "The parent - child relationship is central in the development of our personalities, and when we involve ourselves in defective relationships, our emotions are aroused, hidden springs are touched, raw nerves are flicked". p.17

29 Stroud. op.cit. p.17

order of skill[30]. This being so, the role incumbent benefits from the image of herself being highly skilful. Another rewarding aspect is that work in this area is seen as making an important contribution not only to the individual child or family, but to society as a whole. This is evident from Timms suggestion that the child care officer, perhaps more than any other kind of social worker, must from time to time have doubts about her effectiveness and that this resulted from the recognition that the child's early life experiences affect his future development.[31] Here, too, we see a further rewarding aspect of the child care officer's job - the nature of the clientele.

> "It is extremely difficult to work in a Children's Department without becoming child-centred. This is partly because the aims of the work are to help children and also because workers enter the Service motivated to this end."[32]

Other rewarding aspects of the role are the degree of individual control over a number of aspects of the job, time-table, casework (to a limited extent) etc., the freedom from office routine and the variety of the work, all of which together provide for many an attractive career prospect. If one considers the staffing of children's departments, however, these attractive features do not operate indiscriminately; more women than men typically work as child care officers.[33] Probation is an exception

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30 Timms, p.50 op.cit.

31 Timms, p.171 op.cit.

32 Timms, p.170 op.cit.

33 H.M.S.O. 'Staffing of Local Authority Children's Departments' 1963, par.8, p.9

to the other social work services in this respect.

CONCLUSION:

This brief outline of the Child Care Service illustrates that whilst its history is of a shorter duration than that of Probation, BOTH (probation and child care) have a relatively recent history of social work training for their respective branches of the Social Work Service. This history, however, has been strongly flavoured in that the values and ideologies of each have dramatically shaped the nature of the legislation and the sorts of service provided. The beliefs in the 'importance of the Child Care Service have influenced the sorts of people who have been prepared to enter that field. The service is seen as essentially childcentred in its approach, in that concern is with the child's long-term welfare and future. The nature of the clientele was also seen as a motivating factor in joining this particular service and this may have been one factor involved in the predominance of female labour in this service. The aforementioned description must also illustrate the point that a degree of deep personal involvement in the nature of the work is often a concommitant of the Child Care Officer's job and, as such, is a commitment that everyone might not be expected to share or to maintain.

THE WELFARE AND MENTAL HEALTH SERVICE:

History

The Health and Welfare Services share with the other social Services a history of sporadic growth and piecemeal development in response to various issues confronting our society at different

times in its past. Official provisions for the handicapped date back to at least 1536,[1] but the development towards the services we know today are of a more recent date it being only in the last forty years that the different strands have been pulled together. However, each separate strand in the Welfare and Mental Health Service has left a legacy of much of the original flavour motivating the individual services. The main legislative points worth mentioning here are those involved in central and local government reorganisation and the influence of the Poor Law. Between the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, the number of local authorities with different forms and responsibilities gave way to consolidation under the Local Government Acts, 1889 and 1929. These Acts called for the setting up of joint forms of local government (councils of counties and large burghs (Scotland)) invested with powers and duties to provide services connected with health and welfare. The 1929 Local Government Act was also important, in that it represented a break with the Poor Law by enabling local authorities to provide services other than Poor Law Relief and enlarge existing notions of community health and the provision of preventive services. Prior to 1929 there was no obvious link between physical health and mental health, so that these services developed separately and in their own individual ways.[2] The uniting of the

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1 P. Hall. Social Services in England and Wales, 2nd Edition. par.183, pp.39-40

2 E.Younghusband. Working Party on Social Workers in Local Authority Health and Welfare Services

Mental Health and Physical Health Services awaited the National Health Services Acts, 1948 (1947 Scotland). These Acts provided that each local authority be a health authority for its area and provide and make arrangements for the mentally ill and defective.[3] With respect to the Welfare services, the National Assistance Act of 1948 provided, under Part III of the act, residential accommodation and care for the elderly and infirm, as well as arrangements for helping the handicapped.

ORGANISATION OF THE MENTAL HEALTH & WELFARE SERVICES

Welfare

Under the Poor Law, welfare services, as far as possible, were to be administered by lay, non-medical people - subject to general supervision by a medical officer of health. In 1956, 75% of local authorities had separate welfare services. The person responsible for the service was appointed by a Welfare Committee. In some instances this person was a Chief Welfare Officer, having day-to-day responsibility for the administration of the service; in other local authorities, a Medical Officer of Health had this responsibility. Where the latter held, he could appoint a Welfare Officer to assist him in the day-to-day administrative duties of the work. Below the administration officer(s) of the service were other administrative personnel with social work functions who were employed particularly in the work with the elderly and the handicapped.

Mental Health

Although it had been considered that mental health should not be seen apart from the rest of the Health Service, it sometimes

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3 Services for the Disabled. pp.13-14

4 Younghusband Report, par.3, p.345

worked out in practice that a number of local authorities in England and Wales established a Mental Health Sub-Committee to the Health Committee to deal with that particular aspect of the service. The organisation of the service included a Medical Officer of Health to advise and give direction on medical matters. In Scotland, however, the usual pattern was for the Mental Health Service to be administered by the committee responsible for the Welfare Services,[5] and in such instances it was not uncommon for welfare staff to be concerned with mental health functions. Some local authorities, even in Scotland, however, had set up a separate mental health work force and engaged in work over and above the minimum statutory requirements of certification and removal of mentally ill and supervisory functions with respect to defectives.

TRAINING AND SELECTION:

Welfare:

No recognised qualification for welfare officers existed, at least until 1959. This slow recognition of the professional staffing needs of the service was in part the result of a historical accident in that welfare provision had been covered in some form by the local authorities under old legislation, so that the introduction of new Acts and powers meant in many cases the simple transfer of existing personnel (mainly untrained) into renamed posts.[6] In Children's Departments, on the other hand, the setting up of new and separate departments operated in stimulat-

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5 Younghusband Report. Par.344. p.1

6 Younghusband Report. Par.185, p.40

ing the professional growth of that sector in terms of numbers and specialised knowledge and skills. Moreover, the standard of training for the basic grade Welfare Officer was not to be regarded asrequiring specialist skills. The Younghusband Report, 1959, recommended what amounted to a two-tier system of highly skilled and less skilled social workers, as well as a number of assistant welfare officers in the field. These less skilled welfare officers would be able to cope with the more routine type work, yet sufficiently trained as to be aware of when more highly skilled social work intervention was needed by the client. One result of this was that welfare training did not emerge as a specialist knowledge base of either probation or child care. Selection of applicants to the service remained essentially undefined, requiring simply that one have an 'aptitude' for the work, but what this aptitude entailed was not made explicit.

Mental Health:

The growth of mental health as a specialist group within welfare work generally has also been a very slow and somewhat limited process. Until at least 1959 there was not any recognised training qualification for the mental health social worker. The Mackintosh Committee of 1951 recommended the in-service training of large numbers of mental health officers to work under and assist experienced Psychiatric Social Workers, but the scarcity of social workers in the mental health local authority service was still great when the situation was reviewed seven years later.[7]

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7 Mackintosh Committee. Committee on Social Workers in the Mental Health Service.

The Mackintosh Committee also stated that there was an absence in this field of an important body of experience on which to base recommendations for training. The Younghusband Committee saw the importance and difficult aspects of the work in mental health field and suggested that these aspects should be taken into account in the selection of personnel.

Up until the early sixties, at least, these two local authority services - welfare and mental health - could be regarded as professionally poor services, since, to quote from the Younghusband Report

> "Services which meet human needs cannot be considered apart from the officers who staff them, since the personal qualities and qualifications of those officers sometimes constitute the service itself." p.36, par.173.

Moreover, the subsequent training facilities which that committee recommended for the basic grade type officer were such as to operate against any direct sense of specialisation.[8] If specialisation were to occur, it would result from experience in the field in which the worker operated, rather than as the direct result of a particular knowledge base or sense of commitment. The importance of this lies in the fact that there does not exist for the local authority welfare officer and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the mental health officer,* an ideology, code of ethics and values conducive to identification with a particular specialist

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8 Younghusband Report, par.256, p.892.

* The possible enlarged commitment of mental health officers may possibly derive from the fact that a number may also have a nursing qualification in mental health.

area as did exist for those in probation and child care. To some extent, this absence of a specific commitment was itself concommitant with a new development in social work training, that of 'generic'-type courses which increasingly aimed at giving the student a broader picture of social work practice.

Duties and Role Obligations

Welfare : The main duties of the Welfare Officer under the National Assistance Act, 1948, and the National Health Service Act as they impinge on this research study, were:

a. to investigate applications for admission to residential care, and also to keep and review waiting lists,

b. to assist in the care of the elderly in their own homes,

c. to arrange temporary accommodation for families where no other solution can be found,

d. to provide services for general classes of handicapped people, and

e. (a high proportion of local authority welfare staff also had mental health functions under the National Assistance Act in Scotland).

Mental Health. Duties of the mental health include the care and after-care of the mentally ill and mental defective. They could also be authorised to take the initial steps for admission to hospital and to arrange for the provision of training and help in finding employment for certain classes of mental defective. The local authority mental health officers have to be differentiated from psychiatric social workers. The latter had much more specialist social work training in psychiatric social work practice. Mental Health Officers, on the other hand, were typically ex-

mental health nursing staff and were also generally less highly trained.

Role Orientation:

Whilst the values of mental health and welfare officers are not spelled out in detail, they typically involve a general concern and respect for people in trouble as well as the realistic desire to provide help. The work involves the acceptance of the client and his problem, and for the more difficult and involved case this may also entail the toleration of a dependency relationship on the worker by the client. It is significant in this instance that there should be a relative dearth of literature particularly focussed on the work within the mental health and welfare service, when so much abounds in the probation and child care fields. Where casework is a tool, and this is likely to be the case where social workers have a social work qualification, the general social work principles will hold good. However, qualifications among social workers in this field have traditionally been few.

Role Rewards:

The rewards of operating within the field of mental health and welfare lie in the ability to provide a form of assistance to those in need. The work, too, can provide a means of personal and emotional satisfaction for the individual worker, in as much as Younghusband talks about people having 'a particular bent' for the work. However, the appeal of the work lacks much of the colour attached to other specialist groups providing recognised specialist services, so that one avenue of personal reward - a sense of identification - seems to have had a more limited appeal

if qualifications of staff operating such services is taken as a reliable indice of commitment to these tasks.

CONCLUSION:

The history of the Mental Health and Welfare Services of the local authority would appear to indicate that professional development, in terms of specific expertise and value systems, has not reached the same degree of maturity as the probation and the child care services, in spite of the fact that the latter are themselves extremely 'young' when compared to the established professions in other areas. Concomitant with this lack of development goes an absence of any real sense of professional identification with the contribution of the Mental Health and Welfare Services among other social workers as indicated by the relative scarcity of qualified people operating in these areas.

THE FOUR SERVICES:

SUMMARY:

The broad conclusions which may be drawn from the above description of the existing local authority Social Work Services are that quite distinct and important differences characterise these services, not only in terms of clientele, but also in terms of staffing qualifications, training experience and sense of identification with a particular branch of the service. This latter is extremely important, as it operates both as a magnet and as a repellant to joining a service. Considering the individual services separately, one finds that probation is presented by those responsible for recruitment as a very special and particular branch of social work.

> "It is not everyone who can stand up day by day to the emotional drama of the court, and mix continually with all kinds of criminals and social casualties."[9]

and, again,

> "The finished product of an Applied Social Studies Course whilst he is identified with social work generally may not yet have acquired the SPECIFIC commitment to the Probation Service which is likely already to be the hallmark of students from training courses for Probation Officers only."[10]

Timms, for his part, talks of the 'child-centred' focus of the Child Care Officer and of the basic commitment and motification which acts to draw a number of people into that particular service. In mental health and welfare services such elaborate ideologies had not yet been worked out for the local authority social worker, but, even here, Younghusband speaks of persons having a particular 'bent' for these fields. Such identification and sense of purpose could not be lightly glossed over, nor could one assume that there would be an automatic transfer of identification from one branch of the service to another.

The social work services are also peculiar among professions in that the worker is encouraged to become involved in a personal sense with his task. This task is one where the individual would find opportunities to come to terms with some of his own personal problems and needs, and has an important

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9 Probation and After-Care Service as a Career.

10 Probation Papers, 1965, p.30. Aspects of Training.

motivation for joining a particular service. However, one could not assume that other types of work involving different clientele and issues would provide the same source of job satisfaction and personal reward. (Lapping).

A possible difficulty emerging from the proposed setting-up of a new Social Work Department was thatsocial workers would be expected to take on a variety of social work functions; this was also, strangely enough, one of the motivating assumptions favouring the change; the belief that trained social workers shared a common base in terms of their skills and expertise. It is extremely difficult to pin-point any clear denial of this belief, but one suspects that apart from the techniques and principles involved in casework - a general feature of social work services - this common training base was somewhat overstated. Moreover, even casework, which is essentially a social work tool, may be used with different effect according to a particular service. (Morley; Jaffe). Consider the following statement:

> "A probation student is not learning "Pure Casework" He is, in fact, learning to be a probation officer, one whose functions is the giving of casework help in the probation setting."[11]

Moreover, each specialism requires a body of knowledge and experience which is pertinent to its own interests. Whilst it may

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A.Lapping - op.cit. p.16

R.E.Morley- Social Pathology and Social Work. Case Conference 1967/8. p.96

E.D. Jaffe- Professional Background and the Utilisation of Institutional Care of Children as a solution to Family Crisis. Pp.15-21, Human Relations, Vol.23, No.1, 1970.

11 Probation Papers, 1965. Aspects of Training, p.25.

be fair to suggest that many social work students undergo courses on 'Human Growth and Behaviour' or 'The Family', aspects chosen within these courses would appropriately focus on areas more directly bearing on the needs of a particular service, e.g. young children (Child Care); adolescents and young adults (Probation); old age (Welfare), etc.* There would also be specific information on delinquency, fostering and residential care, mental illness and family life, etc., which would also tend to be of too specialised a nature to cover in any other than a superficial manner, unless in a specific professional* course. Legal and social framework of the individual services constitute another important aspect of the social workers' knowledge base and expertise, and these frameworks and procedures were also typically peculiar to particular branches of each service.

It has to be borne in mind, however, that this picture relates entirely to those social workers who did not share a generic training base. This situation, however, would be true of the majority of thelocal authority social workers in Scotland at the time of the changeover in 1969. Indeed, specialist training courses in Child Care and Probation continued to be provided to students up until 1970 in Scotland. After that time, most training courses moved on to a generic basis for the training of social workers so that the situation for those trained after that period could be expected to colour their attitudes to the changeover in ways which would not necessarily reflect those of the earlier

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* That such concern is justified is apparent from the reluctance shown by one professional sector to willingly enter the new set-up as demonstrated by numerous articles in the press and in their own professional publications.

* See Appendix B.

specialist-trained staff. However, since the introduction of the 1968 Act involved predominantly specialist staff, the focus of the study is concerned only with those who were employed by the local authorities and who were involved in the study at the time the changeover was introduced and implemented. Of that group of some 93 social workers who operated in the four mentioned specialist fields, less than 6% could be classified in any way whatsoever as having a generic background which would equip them for the demands which the integration to the new social work services in Scotland involved.

The implication to be taken is not that the proposed changeover to the new Social Work Service was either impractical or impossible, but that in the absence of retraining schemes, which had not emerged at that time and have since been poorly developed, one could realistically anticipate a degree of anxiety and unwillingness on the part of these specialist social workers to enter and to participate wholly in the new structure. These attitudes and commitments towards their previous specialist role, together with the suggested absence of a general and common knowledge base, could be expected to influence both the short- and long-term acceptance and the competence of these social workers in their new, enlarged generic role.

CHAPTER 3

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

Theory : Social Action and the Decision to Participate

Whenever groups of individuals come together for protracted interaction, social organisation develops among them, but not every collectivity in this broad sense has a formal organisation. The defining features of formal organisations are that they have been set up to do something, usually to achieve some goal or set(s) of objectives. (Blau, Price, Woodward). To this end the formal organisation will have a set of procedures for mobilising and co-ordinating the efforts of their various specialist sub-groups or units. The formal organisation will also exhibit a certain stability or continuity over time. Other features of the formal organisation will be the existence of a relatively fixed boundary which marks the organisation off from the surrounding environment. This boundary is generally a physical structure - a building, etc.- but can also be a name or a title. For example, the early Christians had no established churches, but a formal organisation existed nonetheless. This organisation was contained in the title of Christian and the inclusion of its members into a wider religious body with whom they identified and shared certain values and beliefs. Typically, however, a formal organisation will possess both these characteristics - physical structure and specific titles. For instance, the Probation and the Children's

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P. Blau Formal Organisations, p.110, paras.4, 9
J.L. Price Organisational Effectiveness, pp.2-3 (1968)
J.Woodward Industrial Organisation. Behaviour & Control, p.3 (1970)

Departments each has its own premises, titles and goals, and each was recognised and responded to by society as a separate organisation. Apart from physical structure, titles and goals, formal organisations will also have a particular set of procedures or rules; a hierarchy of authorative positions; a recognised communications system and an incentive system with which to attract and motivate its labour force, all of which are designed to enable the organisation to meet the requirements set by the organisation's goals or objectives.

The formal organisation can be thought of as a system of co-ordinated efforts in which the various participants or members make contributions to the goals or maintenance of the organisation in exchange for certain benefits, or inducements from the organisation or employing body. A problem confronting any formal organisation, therefore, is the provision of sufficient inducements to motivate individuals to participate and to remain active in the organisation. This decision to participate is a major element of organisation theory (March and Simon). Participation of the individual or the collectivity in the organisation is essential for its continued effective performance. March and Simon suggest that the individual, at least in our society, enters and participates in the organisation on a voluntary basis in exchange for inducements offered him by the organisation in return for certain contributions which he will be asked to make.

March and Simon - Organisations, p. 83;110

> "In joining an organisation, he accepts an authority relation; he agrees that within some limits he will accept orders and instructions of the organisation."[3]

March and Simon also suggest that the employee acts in a subjectively rational way and will only be willing to enter an organisation when it does not matter to him 'very much' which activities within the agreement he is expected to perform.[4] Explicit in their theory is the notion of a balance between Inducements and Contributions which, having been struck at the outset for both participant and organisation, is favourable to each in terms of their own values, but may involve different interests, each looking at the other's contribution as their inducement.

The Inducement-Contribution balance can be thought of as the contractual agreement made by both parties, and which specifies such things as salaries, terms of employment, conditions of service, etc., appropriate to a particular post. This balance is assumed to hold good for the duration of the employment, with possible increments explicitly allowed for by the organisation for seniority and promotion, which not only provide a career ladder for the employee, but also act as an incentive for continued participation. March and Simon believe that participation in the organisation will continue only as long as the Inducements offered are greater, or as great as, the Contribution the individual is asked to make, the balance being determined or measured

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3 March and Simon - 'Organisations' par.4.3, p.90

4 March and Simon - 'Organisations' par.4.3, p.90

in terms of the individual's values or interests. Moreover, this balance is seen by them as problematical for all of the organisation's participants - management and workers.

> "The problem of defining enforcing the employment contract are a matter of concern and potential conflict...."[5]

March and Simon are, then, concerned withorganisational equilibrium and with factors disturbing this. They postulate that if any change which:

a. explicitly alters the Inducement offered to any group of participants,

OR

b. explicitly alters the Contributions demanded of them,

OR

c. alters the organisation's activity in such a way that will affect Inducements or Contributions, [6]

then on any of these occasions a prediction can be made as to the effect of such change on participation by the individual or group. When conditions within or surrounding an organisation change in such a way as to adversely affect its Inducement/Contribution balance, members of the organisation will attempt to initiate some

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5 March and Simon : 'Organisations' : par. 4.3, p.91

6 March and Simon : 'Organisations' : p.88

6 N. Babchuch & W.J. Good - Work Incentives
ASR. 1961, Vol.16

changes so as to restore a more favourable balance. Ordinarily, this group is the management who take responsibility for reaching a new adjustment, but on occasion this function can be performed by other members of the organisation, e.g. Babchuch[6] studied a department store which had altered its wages system for employees to a straight commission basis. This resulted in an initial attempt by salesmen to control their situation and meet management's demands. They did this by pressure sales techniques, avoiding duty stock-taking, holding on to articles they knew to be in demand by customers, etc. This raised the productivity of the department, but morale was very low and people started to leave. The salesmen themselves took the initiative and began a pooling system which included the sharing of customers, stockroom duty, etc. At first, management were not in favour, but soon the whole department was working the pooling system on an informal basis. Productivity was still high, but morale was better than ever before. Management then made the pooling system official policy for the entire store. What this illustration shows is that changes in the organisation's structure or activities which upset the original Inducement/Contribution balance also provide a period of opportunity. Identifying the individuals or groups who are active in this adaptive or 'opportunistic' phase is significant in that they will largely determine the type of changes which will be attempted and the order in which these will be tried. Opportunistic changes will reflect an attempt by the active group(s) to retrieve or retain those aspects of the Inducement/Contribution balance which are objects of identification or reward for the group(s) or individuals

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6 N. Babchuch & W.J.Good - Work Incentives
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iditiating the changes. Such opportunism is an alternative to leaving the organisation when satisfaction is low. March and Simon predict that there is a greater likelihood of the former being attempted before the latter (i.e. leaving the organisation) to the extent that the individual or group

a. perceive themselves as influential in determining the organisation's activities;

b. Substitute Inducements are not available elsewhere;

c. Possibilities are seen for establishing favourable Inducement/Contribution balance without destroying those particular Inducements which are important to the individual or group.[7]

The above theory of participation appears to suggest that bargaining or otherwise modifying or changing the Inducement/Contribution balance is the exception rather than the rule. Crisis and change may, indeed, be the best occasions on which to see such interests being manifest, but this overlooks the possibility where

> 'employees continue to bargain silently over the rules governing employment, long after they have signed the contract which stipulates these rules in a seemingly unambiguous manner.' Bendix.[8]

Management may attempt to overcome this by strategic use of programmes, penalties, incentives and ideological appeals which constitute an ongoing process between management and the worker. The work contract as presented at the initial agreement

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7 March and Simon - 'Organisations' par.4.8, p.110

8 Bendix - 'Management and Authority in Industry', p.247

between the worker and the organisation is akin to the Total prestation of the Kula; the exchange marks the beginning of an ongoing exchange relationship between the parties and not its conclusion. This is due to the fact that whilst the individual in joining the organisation is committed momentarily to whatever tasks are assigned to him, he is not indifferent to the possibility of other alternatives.[9] Moreover, his awareness of his situation is heightened by comparison with that ofothers in similar positions to himself in the organisation. Again, what is acceptable prior to entry is subject to revision by both sides after entry. Entry into the organisation can itself give rise to new interests and new commitments. This continued shifting of the Inducement/Contribution balance is the result of a number of factors. The work contract rarely spells out in detail all the possible requirements of the job, often because management cannot know all that may be required, nor all that the worker is able to contribute. This leaves gaps for manoeuvre on both sides. Moreover, through time the nature of the task may undergo significant changes without this officially being recognised by the organisation or a new contract being drawn up.(Brown). The fact that Inducements or Contributions can change, and often in ways viewed as unfavourable by one party or another, will usually result in attempts to rectify this imbalance; usually by the 'injured' party. The process of adjusting the inducement/contribution balance is, therefore, an ongoing process, continuous, but, as

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9 March and Simon. op.cit. p.96

Brown • R.'Sources of Objectives in Work and Employment'p32-5

March and Simon suggest, perhaps more obvious during times of crisis or change.

The adjustment of Inducements/Contributions of participants in the organisation as an ongoing process of organisational life is evident in the empirical studies of working organisations. Generally, however, one side of the picture, Contributions (effort) or Inducements (rewards) is stressed more than the other. A sizeable proportion of the Human Relations literature, looking as it does from the viewpoint of management, focuses on the Contributive aspect of the problem. The implicit notion behind the human relations school of thought is that there is a reserve of untapped energy in the individual which is potentially available to the organisation if it can produce the right inducements. There is a notion of involving the individual over and above his contractual relationship with the organisation. Attempts at encouraging worker participation in the decision-making of the organisation;[10] counselling;[11] altering the technical system of the participants;[12] organisational consultancy;[13] etc. are all indicative of this ongoing concern of the organisation to achieve a favourable balance (in its own terms) between Inducements and Contributions.

Conversely, empirical evidence on the behaviour of groups and individuals in the organisation would appear to indicate that the workers' concerns are less with the Contributions and the

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10 Coch & French - 'Overcoming Resistance to Change'

10 G. Strauss - 'Some Notes on Power Equalization

11 Roethlisberger & Dickson - 'Management in Industry'

12 J. Woodword. op.cit. Chap.1

13 W.G. Bemis - 'Planned Organisational Change'
J.P. Lawrence - 'Operational Research on the Social Sciences'

efforts demanded from themselves than with retaining or increasing the Inducements or whatever it is that they get out of participating in the organisation. These inducements, not always officially acknowledged by the management, range from the furthering of the individual career or departmental interest to the colonisation of, or control over, the job. Instances of the former have been cited by Selznick where the decision to participate in the organisation often resulted in the participants seeking inducements which resulted in the modification of the goals of the organisation itself.[14] Gouldner also found that entry into one area of an organisation - the mines - gave rise to group loyalties, interests and identifications which adversely affected the Contributions/Inducements balance, at least from the viewpoint of the management.[15] Roy also tried to show how workers spent much of their time on the job trying to improve their payments and control their contributions to the organisation by gaining some degree of control over the process of production.[16] Social action by individuals and groups in terms of their own interests in this Contribution/Inducement arrangement is, therefore, an integral part of the life of any organisation.

The concern with personal and/or group interests by the participants in the organisation is, in part, a result of the way in which the organisation structures itself. All organisations can be viewed as being concerned with achieving some set of

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14 Selznick - 'T.V.A. and Grass Roots'

15 G. Gouldner - 'Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy'

16 D.I. Roy - 'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop'

objectives and in the pursuit of these objectives they will attempt to rationalise and sub-divide the units of work required to be done. The assumptions behind this division of labour is that specialised areas of work with limited concerns will be more effective in the pursuit of their individual tasks. The individual on entering the organisation is given only limited autonomy in terms of the formal decisions he will, or can, make within the organisation. This division of work sets limits to the worker's decisional environment.[17] The organisation, by assigning the participant certain tasks, directs and limits his attention only to those problems which are relevant to his tasks. This method of structuring the organisation's activities, however, can have dis-functional aspects, in that it encourages the individual to consider only those aspects of the work which relate to his own duties and those of his immediate group, rather than operating with a picture of the needs of the total situation.

> "When tasks are allocated to an organisational unit in terms of a sub-goal, other sub-goals and other aspects of the goals of the larger organisation tend to be ignored in the decision of the sub-unit. This happens as a result of focusing on some criteria and omitting others." (March & Simon)[18]

The individual can only attend to limited numbers of things at the same time. The real situation is nearly always too complex to handle. At best, March and Simon suggest, man operates in a 'subjectively rational' manner, i.e. rationally, but with respect to a more limited and specified frame of reference and not the total situation. The structuring of the organisation and his own

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17 March & Simon. op.cit. p. 147-151

18 March & Simon. opcit. p. 152.

location within it will set limits on the events and consequences which the individual will anticipate and those which he will not; what he will consider important and what he will choose to ignore. This simplified model of organisational reality on which the individual in the organisation typically operates can become crucial when non-programme or non-routine problems arise which demand solution, or during times of change when the original programmes are no longer adequate. Decisions in such instances will tend to be in terms of the interests and concerns of the individual; the implications of the problem for himself or his unit, rather than the needs of the organisation as a whole. Likewise, the allocation of scarce resources, or the planning of joint work activities by different departments, may result in a lack of adjustment between their several different needs. The organisation, therefore, by its very structure, can give rise to identifications and interests which can involve adjustments in the Inducement/ Contribution balance for the individual or group within the organisation. The reduction of personal tensions by "keeping one's own way clear", or under control, is an intangible Inducement which nevertheless appears to enter into the participant's ability and decision to remain with the organisation.

Members of an organisation are recruited to be used, by agreement, as resources to achieve the goals of the organisation, but, as Selznick and others have demonstrated, men and women bring into the organisation other private purposes of their own. They react not simply as resources, but as 'wholes'.[19] Their ability to achieve these personal goals within the organisation, either formally or informally, is another important Inducement which may not be officially sanctioned or recognised, but which, nevertheless

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19 Selznick - T.V.A., op.cit. p.251

constitutes a basis for continued participation. Moreover, the pursuit of these private goals or commitments, some of which are irrelevant or even problematic for the organisation, account for some of the disturbances and frustrations experienced by the working organisation. The pursuit of these private interests involves the individual or group in action, tacit or overt, with others. The modern organisation, Burns suggests, is both bureaucratic institution with social goals to meet and a community of people with distinct purposes and values of their own.[20] Burns(a) describes at least three subsystems operating within organisations; the work system; the career system and the political system; and it is to be assumed that all or any one of these commitments will feature in the Inducement/Contribution balance - at least when viewed from the angle of the participants.

The suggestion is that the participation in an organisation is problematic in that the balance between the rewards offered through the organisation and the contributions extracted or expected by it from the worker are impossible to establish on a once-and-for-all basis. At theoutset, the individual has only a limited knowledge of the demands that might be made of him on entry into the organisation, or of the possibilities which might exist for furthering his own personal satisfaction through engagement in the work. The organisation will, itself, possess only general notions about what can be obtained through hiring any particular employee. Instead, the common practice is for both groups to bargain over stipulated and broadly-defined areas of benefits and contributions such as pay, hours, immediate duties, etc. It is only on entry into the organisation that both sides of the agreement

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20 - T. Burns. (a) On the Plurality of Social Systems, in J.R.Lawrence 'Operational Research in the Social Sciences'. pp 164-177

become aware of a wider range of uses to which either could be put to the advantage or satisfaction of the user. For example, the organisation might seek an enlargement of the individual's role as it becomes aware of new possibilities, or a contraction of his role as prior expectations are not met. The subsequent readjustments which might take place in the initial Inducement/ Contribution bargain, however, need not become a focus of discussion between the two parties, but remain covert negotiations, or what Bendix would call 'silent bargaining' between the parties over the rules.[21] Because of these difficulties which appear to be inherent in employee participation, a Social Action perspective would appear to be a useful tool in attempting to highlight and to interpret some of the possible processes whereby individuals and groups attempt to achieve some balance between their role demands and role rewards.

Man's action is 'social' action in the sense that it is meaningful, goal-oriented action carried out in the company of others, or with others in mind. It is through such actions that man's relationships with others becomes defined and established, and, as such, is an ongoing process in everyday life. (Berger and Kellner, Dale). These actions arise from the 'meanings', or images, which he and others - past and present - have constructed and share of (his) social reality. (Silverman). Individuals are given social positions within the fabric of the prevailing society or group, and together with these status positions go a number of

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21 Bendix. op.cit. p.247
22 Berger & Kellner 'Marriage and Social Construction of Reality'
R. Dale 'Phenomenological Perspectives'. Educ.Review, 1973, pp.117-
23 D. Silverman 'The Theory of Organisations', para.3, p.130 (1970)
D. Silverman 'Clerical Ideologies', British Journal of Sociology, p.331, 1968.
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related expectations about how one ought to respond in given situations involving that status. However, for shared expectations to persist and hold sway over the individual, they must be continually lived out in the day-to-day world. "Meanings are not only given, they are socially sustained". (Silverman). However, these meanings are not randomly derived, but tend to be located in and influenced by particular contexts and social experiences. A role which could be looked upon as a set of expectations and responsibilities appropriate to a particular status position holder is only meaningful in terms of the other status positions and roles to which it relates. The role of the social worker is only meaningful in relation to that of the client. This structure or patterning of the relationships among status position holders, however, does not completely determine the type of interaction which might take place between the different status holders or, for that matter, the quality of the relationship between the different parties. (Strauss). Each individual may interpret the implications of his role demands and performance for his own personal wellbeing as well as that of the recipient party. Shared meanings of their joint roles does not automatically emerge from their mutual relationship. The social worker may see himself as providing counselling and supportive help to the client as the major component of his role, whilst the client interprets this relationship as simply a constraining factor resulting from his need for money or some other form of material assistance. Both see the need for the relationship, but may disagree over the priorities which are

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24. D. Silverman (1970) op.cit. p. 133
25. Strauss et al. 'Psychiatric Ideologies & Institutions', pp.156-7. 1966.

being established. An absence of shared meanings or of definitions of the situation and the acceptance of these meanings as legitimate may explain why role expectations can and do change through time and also indicate something of the possible constraints on such changes taking place, namely the possibly differential distribution of power in the relationship.

Social action is concerned with man's interests, both individual and group. These interests need not be confined simply to materialistic issues and concerns, even within organisations. However, such interests are not completely random, but are influenced by a number of social factors in the society which, together, operate to give rise to images which the individual comes to hold of himself and which, at later stages, direct his behaviour in accordance with these images. In this respect, four social influences worth considering are those emanating from quite distinct yet related levels. These are: the Environment, the Group, the Individual and the Organisation itself.

The Environment:

The environment includes both the physical and the social context in which both the individual and the organisation are situated and the influences exerted by these external factors, e.g. labour supply, market conditions, consumers, political climate, culture, etc. These external conditions generate what Silverman calls a 'source of meanings' through which members define their actions and make sense of the behaviour of others.[26] With respect

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26 D. Silverman (1970) op.cit. p. 126

to social work, the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, was in no small way influenced by a number of quite distinct areas of opinion and support. This Act, which was concerned with administrative reform of the local authority Social Work Services, received support from two important sectors of society, one professional and the other political. Firstly, there was a general commitment from the professional bodies for the enlargement and improvement of the existing local authority Social Work Services to the client.* Since 1963, the Standing Conference of Social Work Organisations had worked for greater co-ordination among the existing eervices, but the administrative arrangements of each service had operated against achieving co-ordination in the fullest sense. Problems of co-ordination featured in the social work literature of the time, so thatto some extent the needs for a more effective administrative set-up was also paralled among the social workers themselves.[27] In the early sixties, professional training of social workers also reflected that concern. The generic social work training course, influenced in a direct way by the Younghusband proposals of 1959, included at least some knowledge of related social work disciplines whilst retaining a large element of specialisation. These manoeuvres within the the profession itself, piecemeal as they may seem, nevertheless provided the worker with a sense of an enlarged commitment over and above his immediate specialist ties and also drew his attention

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* Probation were less in accordance with the objectives of the 1968 legislation than the other specialist social workers at the time.

27 O. Stevenson (a) Co-ordination Reviewed p. 162
Case Conference Vol. 10 1964

to shortcomings within his own administration. The professional area, therefore, had paved a favourable path for inroads to administrative change.

Secondly (the political level), support for the changes in the existing local authority Social Work Services had been drawn from the Central Government's concern with the reorganisation of regional areas generally. First there was the Government's concern to reduce the array of committees which was a feature of Local Authority administration, and thereby improve management efficiency. The suggestion, like those contained in the Maud Report, 1967, forEnglish Local Authorities, was to regroup similar or related local government services under one committee.[28] There was also the proposed regionalisation of a number of services, so that reorganisation of the Social Work Services was, in a sense, an anticipation of the more general trend for local authority services as a whole.

It would be untrue to suggest that the reorganisation of the Social Work Services as they applied to Scotland had met with no opposition whatsoever. Both the Probation and the Court services contained elements which were opposed to the changeover proposals on the grounds that such reorganisation, including as it did the Probation service, would impair the quality of the service which was offered to both the courts and to the client. By the time the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1969, had been passed, however, a sense of 'fait accompli', if not quite resignation, could be said to typify the attitude of many of the social workers

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28 P. Boss. op.cit. p.88

involved in the change. Such an attitude was to some extent realistic in that alternatives to local authority employment in the Social Work field were not particularly attractive possibilities, and for some social workers no such alternatives existed. Moreover, the English social work situation, unresolved in 1968, was obviously moving in a direction similar to that laid down for the Scottish social work services of the local authority. Whilst it was not then certain thatProbation would be included in the English set-up, the area for which a separate English Probation service would assume responsibility would become much narrower and would include more work with adult offenders and after-care work with prisoners which was not a very attractive prospect for many Scottish Probation Officers.*

The Group

The group, often referred to in the literature on organisations as the 'informal' organisation, also constitutes a set of relationships which may generate a value system and commitments for the individual which may affect his participation in the organisation. Studies by Blau, Coch and French and Daniel, to list but a few, indicate instances in which these group influences are at work. Such influences operating among the work force can be as great, if not greater than that exerted by management. Moreover, these influences of the group are more concerned with the Inducements aspect of the work situation, rather than with extending

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P. Blau - 'Dynamics of Bureaucracy'
Coch and French 'Overcoming Resistance to Change', pp.257-79.
W.W. Daniel - 'Understanding Employee Behaviour', pp.44-50, in "Man and Organisation", Ed. J. Child (1973)

* It later transpired that the Seebohm proposals to be implemented for the English local authority Social Work Division, did not include Probation

their Contributions to the organisation. In the case of the social worker the group can be thought of as the social worker's professionally-trained colleagues, or colleagues who generally shared the professional's value system regarding the service to the client and nature of the client/worker relationship. A number of the social workers had undergone professional* training in social work and had been trained to operate in, or currently worked in, a specialist-type social work agency. To a large extent, their training and their values concerning the client, together with the specialist context in which they operated, could be expected to reinforce or establish a number of images of their role, both in relation to the individual client and to the employing organisation. Moreover, these meanings of the work, explicit in their titles and ideologies, were sustained in their work activities within their individual specialist-based agencies. At least two of the social work services to be brought into the new social work service departments had fairly extensive histories of service to a particular sector of the community and had, furthermore, developed specific training courses which highlighted the specialist sphere of activity in which these social workers would be engaged. Moreover, both these groups - i.e. the Probation and the Child Care - also supported their own specialist social work journals which were more or less exclusively devoted to specialist problems and concerns.

The introduction of the new service would attack this sense of identification with a specialist area of work or personnel. It would do so by first removing the titles under which each specialist group had hitherto operated and by replacing them with a

* See Appendix B.

title which would be held in common by all four groups involved in the new service proposals. The service would further undermine the worker's commitment to a particular area of work by requiring the worker to engage in a much broader range of social work activities than had been required of them in the specialist service. By removing both the title of the specialist worker and by interfering with the worker's ability to devote himself exclusively to specialist interests and activities, the changeover would effectively remove some of the essential means whereby the individual social worker typically sustained his specialist concept of self, i.e. in his title and in his work. However, the removal of such group identifications and commitments, to the extent that these provided satisfying experiences for the individual, might remove an important set of inducements which had hitherto been available to the worker in the old work situation and which he might seek to retain in the new. A potential conflict of interests, therefore, could be expected to arise out of necessity to interfere with these specialist group identifications which had been brought about by the reorganisation of the services. These changes could be expected, as Strauss and Gouldner had shown, to affect the participation of the group in the organisation and their willingness to remain.

Strauss et al. op.cit. pp.156-7, 361-6

Gouldner 'Patterns of Bureaucracy' pp.117-154

The Individual:

The individual and his personality are a third set of factors affecting participation in the organisation. The self-image of the worker is important, Gouldner suggests, in that it either facilitates an identification with the organisation and its objectives, or interferes with and impedes a full acceptance of it.[29, 30] Brown also argues that the degree to which the self-image (which he sees as partially generated bythe individuals' position within the organisation) is acceptable to the worker, will itself provide an important basis for participation and social action within the organisation.[31] The position of the individual in this situation of change would appear to be particularly difficult, since such individuals were largely professionally-trained or oriented towards the notion of client service. The changing nature of their status and work role would inevitably give rise to problems of identification for the worker. Many of these social workers could be seen as entering a particular specialist service because of some personal sense of identification with the category of client involved. Moreover, the training bodies and the professional literature in each specialism had encouraged a notion of the fit between the individual's personality and his ability to do the job well. Since the new service proposals involved a marked shift in identify and specialist activity previously established notions of self and the individual's contribution as a specialist would come under attack, and, in the absence of substitute commitments, such individuals could be expected to experience something akin to an anomic situation where old norms and values would be no longer adequate currency in the new changing situation.

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29 Gouldner, op.cit. (1954) p.148
30 Gouldner(b) 'Cosmopolitans and Locals'
31 Brown, 'The Psychology of Industry'

How the worker confronts and is himself confronted by these changes in his activities and status would appear to be influenced by the meanings which become established to cope with the new work identities and the individual's own ability to respond to these new images of his work. A difficulty, however, did appear to lie in the fact that for such a long time these specialist workers had been encouraged to view themselves as a special kind of person, possessing special qualities and particular skills, and concerned with specific issues. The social worker has also, traditionally, been seen as bringing himself more completely than other organisational employees into the work situation. Social workers have been seen to introduce something of their own personalities and emotional needs into their work and, moreover, had been encouraged to do so. Such commitment, where it exited, was seen as providing a fund for enlarged Contributions as well as Inducements in the work situation. However, the change from a specialist to a generic social work role might be expected to remove the specialist concerns and, by implication, the narrow concerns of the worker, but also unwittingly remove a basic source of personal satisfaction and inducement to the worker and à unique form of incentive for stimulating greater commitment to the needs of the organisation and its clientele.

The Organisation:

The organisation is set up to achieve certain objectives or interests. (Wieland). These interests may be those of one man or a number of people. Where it is the latter, and where there

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G.F. Wieland 'The Determinants of Clarity in Organisation Goals', p161 in Human Relations, Vol.22, 1969/70.

are a number of objectives which might be pursued, social action by those responsible for setting the official objectives is likely to result. To achieve their stated objectives, organisations recruit individuals as participants to make contributions to the organisation in exchange for some, usually specified, rewards. In bringing these participants into the organisation, however, it may unwittingly give rise to personal or group interests among the workforce which emerges as a result of their participation in the enterprise. (Burns)(B). The organisation, therefore, may need to engage in other forms of social action with these individuals or groups in order to allow for, or to remove, these commitments which may divert the organisation from its official objectives. A great deal of organisational activity, therefore, may at times be given over to what Parsons calls 'Pattern Maintainance' problems of the organisation.[32]

One of the immediate difficulties confronting the new Social Work Departments lay in attempting to integrate and redeploy theprofessional staff of at least three, possibly four, hitherto separate specialist departments, each with its own administrative framework, procedures, authority and career structures and pattern of social relationships among the Social Workers and their clients. The new department had the task of replacing these narrower concerns with the broader outlook required to meet the needs of the new organisation and its wider category of clientele. It was obvious that this integration of departments and staff would disturb a number of the original balances which had been struck between the different specialist agencies and their respective workers. What

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T. Burns (B) 'Cliques and Cabals' in Human Relations.NO.8.1955.
32 T. Parsons pp.84/5

was not certain, however, was the nature of the substitute incentives which would be provided, and whether such incentives would be of a sufficient nature to motivate social workers to remain in the new service. The response to the changing demands of the situation remained to be worked out by each individual Social Work Department and staff. The manner in which each organisation pursued relationships with its staff and theobjectives and priorities set by each new department could influence the kind of image which the staff built up of the department. Moreover, those images established by the organisation would influence how the worker responded in the situation of change.

The formal organisation has as one of its major goals its own survival and continuity. That survival is dependent on the organisation's ability to recruit and to retain suitable work personnel. Participation in the organisation, therefore, becomes an important area for study. The objectives of this particular study were to look at the phenomenon of why individuals enter an organisation and continue to remain there. Since participation is viewed as problematic, the focus of the study, following on directly from the theory of March and Simon, will be concerned with the exchange relationship between the organisation and its members: What March and Simon call the Inducement/Contribution balance. The theory of March and Simon, however, has been enlarged to include the nature or the meaning of the work itself, rather than simply the objective factors associated with work satisfaction

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March and Simon. op.cit. pp.90/93

as, for example, salary, hours, conditions of service, etc. This is perhaps important when the group concerned is a professional one, or at least makes certain claims for professional status for its members. Merton and others have suggested that where the professional operates in an organisation not directly geared to furthering the worker's professional aims, but rather more concerned with using the professional skills for its own purposes, then on such occasions the professional employee may experience frustration and stress and may leave the organisation. The use of the professional employee by the organisation, therefore, may be more problematic than that experienced with non-professional employees observed by March and Simon where, as far as the worker was concerned,

> 'It does not matter very much what activities...
> he is expected to play'.[34]

The focus of this research is on the role of the employee, in this instance that of the professional social worker. Four groups of professionally-trained or oriented social workers were required under the legislation of 1969 to amalgamate and, moreover, were asked to undertake social work duties in a variety of areas formerly considered specialist and separate entitles. March and Simon had suggested that when changes occurred in either the activities or the rewards of the members of an organisation, the affected members would attempt to retain or further those interests peculiar to themselves, and that such a response was regarded by the worker as preferable to leaving the organisation. March and

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R.K. Merton ('Social Theory and Social Structure')

34 March and Simon, op.cit. p.91

Simon had not suggested that workers would not leave the organisation, but, rather, would only do so only after an attempt had been made to salvage or improve their position beforehand.

The changes proposed by the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1969, would appear to provide such an occasion when social workers were to be required to assess the relative significance and the implications of the proposed changes for their own position, both as specialist social workers and as employees of the local authority. It was thought that the changeover period would cast some light on those individuals and groups who found the transition relatively easy or difficult, and might also suggest factors which appeared to influence their experience of the situation. Since we know that one's awareness of a situation is often a developmental one, in that the individual's perception is heightened by personal experience and contact with others in similar situations, it is reasonable to suggest that solutions to the change in the Inducement/Contribution balance would not be resolved immediately for different individuals and groups. This being so, the research continued for a period of two years in order that the more important implications of the change could be felt and something of the pattern of responses of the participants could be observed. Also, since March and Simon state that the worker operates with a 'subjectively rational' picture of the situation and the organisation, it was important, too, to attempt to identify that picture and the part which that image of the organisation played in influencing the behaviour of the participants and their decision to remain or to leave the organisation.

The stated hypotheses of the study, therefore, were as follows:

1. that changes in the activities of organisations which affect the Inducement/Contribution balance will result in social action on the part of their members;
2. that for groups sharing a professional concept of their work, the work and its meaning for the individual or group is also an important Inducement for the individual and group and in times of change this will affect their willingness to participate;
3. that such actions by individuals and groups has important implications for the organisation. (These to be determined);
4. that commitment of individuals will be to their Specialist roles and will result in behaviour designed to maintain or to further that area of interest;
5. that response tothe changeover by professional social workers in one discipline would differ from that of trained staff in another discipline, and that trained staff would differ from untrained.

   (This was because one would expect the individual's personal preference to have operated in his joining a specialist service and to have remained a member of the specialism. Such preferences would continue to operate in the situation and would either facilitate or impede his acceptance of the new situation).
6. that individuals and groups typically develop strategies for bargaining over the interests which centre around

what they have been asked to do and what they themselves seek from the organisation;

7. that the individual's perception of the situation is localised rather than embracing the total situation, and that this influences his response to the demands of the organisation.

8. Finally, that what the individual gets from participating in the organisation is not settled at the outset by the work contract, but is won and lost in the day-to-day life within the organisation.

CHAPTER 4

THE WORK SITUATION OF THE SPECIALIST GROUPS PRIOR TO THE CHANGEOVER.

March and Simon, in their theory of organisation which was discussed in the previous chapter, state that the decision to participate is a major element of organisation theory. Continued participation of members in an organisation is essential for the organisation's continued effective performance and survival. Members of an organisation are recruited to be used as resources by the organisation, but in societies where voluntary labour rather than coercive labour is the norm, recruitment and participation present their own dilemmas for the organisation. Typically, the organisation engages in an exchange relationship with its workers. The latter are employed to provide certain contributions or work effort for the organisation, in return for which the organisation provides sets of rewards. March and Simon state that the individual participant will continue to remain in an organisation only as long as the efforts or contributions demanded of him are no greater than the rewards or payments he receives.[1] The balance between what is offered from and what is expected by the organisation being measured by the participant in terms of his own set of values and interests.

The values and interests of participants can be viewed as generally influenced by their position and status, both within the organisation and society. Berger and Kellner suggest that every society establishes certain views of what constitutes reality for its members - that individual members internalise the values and

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1 March and Simon. Organisations. p.84

assumptions of their place in the world which they have acquired by virtue of being socialised into a particular group, and that these internalised views later come to be regarded by the individual as objective states or conditions which they look upon as normal.[2]

'The individual is supplied with specific sets of typifications and criteria of relevance, predefined for him by the society and made available to him for the ordering of his everyday life' (Berger and Kellner). These sets of typifications will vary with the social position or status which the individual holds and the sets of behaviours (roles) which are expected of him by virtue of that position. (Linton, Merton)[3] This view of the importance of the individual's location in the social structure of the group or the society in influencing his perception of the situation is highlighted in the statement that 'teachers and pupils have to interact from substantially different worlds. What is meaningful and relevant for one is not necessarily so for the other.' (Esland)[4] Each position gives rise to certain interests and values quite apart from the more general sets of values which broadly unite the different groups. These different sets of interests will centre around the amount, quality, costs, effort and/or rewards.

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2 P.L. Berger and H. Kellner - 'Marriage and the Construction of Reality', pp.23,4, in 'School and Society', Open University

3 R. Linton - 'Concepts of Role and Status'

3 R. Merton - 'The Structural Context of Reference Group Behaviour', p.7

4 G. Esland - 'The Construction of Reality', pp.35-38, Open University.

entailed in such cooperative exercises. Such interests will in turn give rise to certain behaviour or actions designed to protect or further the interests of the different groups. In this way, the different actors are obliged to engage in negotiation and bargaining with one another. In organisations, the fact that a number of individuals share a similar position means that the interests developed also tend to be shared so that differences tend to become group differences and interests, and not simply, individual ones. In the school, for example, the negotiations that take place in the classroom between the teacher and pupil tend to represent the different interests and position of the two groups, teachers and their pupils, over how the school day will be spent. (Geer, Holt).(5) Similary, in industry, it is typically management and the unions, each representing different interest groups who engage in the negotiation exercise. In the case of the participant in the organisation, therefore, his interests are typically, but not completely, influenced by his position in the structure of the organisation, the sets of demands made upon him and the rewards he can come to expect from such participation. (Burns)

Since March and Simon(6) state that the individual will typically continue to participate in the organisation, only so long as his rewards are as great or greater than the efforts expected of him, it would follow that changes in the work effort

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5 - B. Geer. 'Teaching and Learning as the Construction of Reality.' p5. in School and Society. Open University 1971. J. Holt. How Children Fail. pp 19 - 46

6 - March and Simon. op. cit. p 84
T.Burns.(a). op. cit. pp.164-77

or, contribution demanded of the worker which adversely affected the original bargain struck between the participant and management, would result in an attempt by the injured party to rectify the balance and protect his interests. Who makes the attempt and the potential success of the venture depends on the degree of felt power which the different groups see themselves to possess in the situation. (March and Simon, Holt, Gouldner, Woodward).[7] The source or basis of their power may vary. It may be vested in the individual or group by virtue of their authority or status position within the organisation, or, it may arise out of the individual or group control over the work processes on which the organisation depends. The important point is that power to influence the situation is perceived as possible and is acted upon as such by the parties involved.

This study is concerned with the change both in the activities and definitions of the role of specialist social workers who were required under the Social Work (Scot.) Act, to amalgamate with other local authority social workers, from other specialisms. This amalgamation involved these workers in a redefining of their role of specialist to that of generic or multi-purpose type social worker; and their engagement in a wider area of work with which they were largely unfamiliar and towards which they were possibly un-attracted. It is a major hypothesis of this study that work provides an

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7 - J. Holt, op. cit.
A.W. Gouldner. Patterns of Bureaucracy.
J. Woodward. Industrial Organisations.
March and Simon : 'Organisations'.

important source of adult identity in society (Becker and Strauss)[8] and that the more prestigious the occupational position, as, for example, in the case of the professions, the more significant that status becomes for the individual's concept of self in terms of the sets of activities and relationships he engages in, in order to maintain that image. (Greenwood, 1962: Purvis, 1972)[9] The individual's role, the behaviour, values and attitudes and expectations which society ascribes to a particular status which the individual has to show in order to validate his holding such a status may at first be somewhat ill-fitting, but experience and time in the role has the effect, Cotgrove suggests, of the role becoming second-nature to the individual. He becomes, in effect, what he is supposed to be - i.e. a doctor, policeman, etc.

The fact that people can, and apparently do, invest themselves in their more important roles indicates that the severance of such important connections need not go without objection or hardship on the part of the individual concerned. Purvis suggests that commitment to a professional career inevitably makes the individual 'Inner Directed', and that for the professional the work becomes a sign of self-worthiness.[10] Interference with roles which have the possibility of such a strong personal investment on the part of individuals or groups (Becker and Strauss) would be likely to meet with some form of resistance and/or stress.

In the case of those specialist social workers in this study, we have already indicated in Chapter 3 the ways in which the different training, work experiences and the different sets of ideologies associated with the different specialist groups might

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8 H.S.Becker & A.L.Strauss 'Careers, Personality & Adult Socialisation'

9 E. Greenwood 'Attributes of a Profession'/(A.J.S.1956, No.3)
J. Purvis 'School-teaching as a Professional Career' 1973 B.J.S.

10 Becker and Strauss op.cit. pp.6-9
J. Purvis. op.cit. p.45
S. Cotgrove 'The Science of Society', p.13

legitimately give grounds to the view that each specialism both attracted and, later, socialised its members in ways which were designed to establish a set of commitments both to the particular agency and to the specialist clientele. Moreover, in social work the individual is almost encouraged to bring something of himself, in terms of his own personal needs, into the work situation, and where this, in fact, occurs, severance from that particular aspect of the work situation could be expected to generate even greater resistance and stress on the part of the workers. Finally, the role of the specialist social worker is underpinned by the concept of social workers as Professionals. A study of the attitudes and commitments of specialist social workers to their role has to take into account both the concept of the work as professional, as well as specialist, since the former largely influences the manner in which the specialist task will be pursued and the sets of possible sources of satisfactions and conflicts found in the work situation.

March and Simon state that the primary factor influencing the individual to continue to participate in an organisation is his satisfaction with the job.[11] They state three major propositions regarding work satisfaction; first, the greater the degree to which the work conforms to the individual's notion(s) of himself as a person, the greater the degree of satisfaction with the work. In this respect, March and Simon suggest that the extent to which the work provides the individual with favourable estimates of self-worth; sense of independence; competence and/or interests, are all factors to be considered. The second proposition concerning work satisfaction was the greater the predictability of instrumental on the job

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11 March and Simon. op. cit. pp.94-5

relationships, that is, the co-operation of others who are directly involved in the individual's ability to carry out his work role with minimal levels of disturbance or tension, the greater his satisfaction with the job. And, third, the greater the degree of fit between the individual's work role and other non-work roles, in the sense that the individual is able to avoid or reduce role-strain (Goode) resulting from different sets of demands, the greater his level of satisfaction in his work. These sets of general expectations which participants might come to hold of their work are based on the cultural norms which exist in society, and which are exerted through such institutions as the family, professional association or community.[12] These cultural norms act as the framework within which the participant will attempt to validate his view of his social world. (Berger and Kellner).

This particular chapter will be concerned with measuring the extent to which the foregoing propositions hold for the different specialist groups, with attempting to locate the particular sources of satisfaction which might be operating, and to discover whether these sets of satisfactions were either similar or being met at similar levels for the different specialist workers. By locating both the general and the specific areas of work satisfaction for the different groups, one would then be in a better position to hypothesise on the manner in which the different groups might be expected to respond to the proposed changes in their social work function.

Goode - 'A Theory of Role Strain'

12 March and Simon, op.cit. p.96

Berger and Kellner, op.cit. pp.23-4

The Probation Group:

The Probation Department in this study was a Joint Probation Department, that is, it covered both the city area in which the department was located and the surrounding rural region. It was chosen as a vehicle against which the features of the other social work agencies could be compared principally because it was of intermediate size and also contained all the members of that particular specialism under the same roof. Altogether, nineteen Probation Officers took part in the study. These officers ranged in rank from basic grade to senior level, and comprised 15 men and four women officers. The Probation staff, therefore, was predominantly male (73.5%) and this met with the stereotype view of the probation officer who is generally referred to as 'he'. The Probation staff in this study contained the more mature type of social worker with over half of these officers being over 35 years of age, and no Probation Officer being under 25 years of age at the time of the research. As a group, the Probation staff were also among the longest-serving group of specialist workers, with 36.7% of Probation Officers being in the service between three and five years and a further 36.7% for a much longer period. Only 15.7% of the Probation staff had been in the service for less than one year.

March and Simon stress that the decision on the part of the individual to enter an organisation arises out of a variety of factors, both external to the organisation and its particular demands, as well as values and attitudes which the individual may hold about the organisation and the nature of the organisation's

tasks. These different sets of considerations certainly appeared to operate in the decisions made by the Probation staff to enter the Probation Service and their particular department or agency. A study of the reasons or explanations given for movement into Probation Service indicated that two different sets of factors were in operation. These different factors were those which propelled the individual out of his previous employment (which, in the case of these officers, were typically non-social work occupations), the Push factors and those factors which acted to attract people into that specialist service; the Pull factors. The extent to which both sets of considerations influenced the Probation Officer's decision to enter that service are evident in the following statements, which were typical of those given as reasons for entering the service:

> "Working with offenders, I felt that I would get more satisfaction from helping, rather than just detecting cases" (ex-policeman).
>
> "I think it was a desire to help people and also to better my own position. I was in the police for 14 years and got frustrated because I was not getting on. So I started looking around for a change. I've got a good salary here and it's a step up. There is more status as a Probation Officer than as a policeman.
>
> "Motiv[illegible]ation to do social work initially, and as I knew a Probation Officer I became interested in this field. I was an insurance man before - working in the office and I found it an isolated job. I looked around

for a couple of years and eventually thought of social work. I liked the idea of working with people."

"It was the need for a stable form of employment where I could use what abilities I had to be of assistance to others and to provide as good an income as possible for the benefit of my family."

Also evident in the explanations given for entry into the work is the amount of consideration given to the decision to leave the former job and to enter the Probation Service. The decisions did not appear to be made lightly and people, in their desire to move, sought to make a change for the better, rather than a "change for change's sake".

The entry of individuals, as participants, into the organisation, however, presents them with the opportunity to validate these earlier hopes and expectations about the work and whether, in fact, these hopes had been met at some satisfactory level. Since the desire for greater work satisfaction had been given by the majority of Probation Officers as one set of reasons for entering the service, and since dissatisfaction had been a major factor in their leaving their previous posts, it seems reasonable to assume that this consideration - work satisfaction - would continue to operate for these workers in their present work context. March and Simons first proposition is that the greater the degree to which the work confirms the individual's concept of self and his social worth, the higher the level of satisfaction he could be expected to experience in his role.[13] Work which provides the individual with favourable images of himself; which

13 March and Simon. op.cit. pp.94-5

contributes to the individual's sense of independence, or which caters for his own personal interests and needs, will, they suggest, contribute to the worker's sense of satisfaction with the job and hence his continued participation in the organisation.

Empirical research of workers in organisations indicates that the former can adopt what appears to be quite opposite attitudes towards the significance which they will attach to work roles in their lives. For some categories of worker, work is essentially an instrumental activity, useful only to the extent that it allows the individual to satisfy other, non-work, sets of interests and commitments. (Goldthorpe; Burns). For others, work can be viewed as a central life interest, directly feeding into the individual's self-concept and sense of worth to which other, non-work roles must adjust. (Abrahamson, Elliot, Johnson, Purvis). These different sets of attitudes towards work are largely structured by the nature of the work and the work group for the individual worker. (Fox). Work which comes to be regarded as a central life interest is more likely to be of a professional nature because of the extrinsic and intrinsic attractions which professions are thought to be able to offer their incumbents. Among the attractions thought to be available to the professional

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Goldthorpe et al. - The Affluent Worker, pp.144-5
T. Burns - A Meaning to Everyday Life. New Society,1968
M. Abrahamson - The Professional in the Organisation. pp.7,8,19
P. Elliot - The Sociology of the Professions. pp.72-3
T.J. Johnson - Professions and Power. p.56
J. Purvis - Schoolteaching as a Profession. B.J.S.1973. p.45
A. Fox - A Sociology of Work in Industry. pp.16-17

are status and salary (the Registrar General places professional groups at the higher levels of the occupational hierarchy); autonomy in his activities (More and Kohn, Abrahamson, Prandy.Harries-Jenkins); the possession of particular skills and expertise; and the commitment to a particular service ideal. The latter commitment to a particular service ideal is concerned with the meanings which the individual and the group attach to the work and these are of considerable importance, Lortie suggests, in that they provide much of the intrinsic sources of satisfaction which the individual or group will seek to find in the work situation.[14]

Different occupations are thought to present different sets of intrinsic satisfactions for the worker, and work of a professional nature is seen as placing great emphasis on these intrinsic satisfactions of the work. This stage of the study is concerned with assessing the extent to which these different sets of rewards, generally thought to be available to professional workers, had, in fact, been met for the different specialist groups. It is not suggested that these intrinsic and extrinsic sources of work satisfaction, or the method whereby these will be presented, here, represent either a hierarchy of rewards or an exhaustive list of rewards which may be found in the work situation, but rather that the concern is simply to discover the extent to which the more general attractions or incentives of professional occupations such

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D. More and Kohn - Motivationfor a Profession Career. p.82 (Volmer & Mills 'Professionalisation', eds.
K. Prandy - Professional Employees. pp.83-101
G. Harries-Jenkins Professionals in Organisations, pp.86-7, in Jackson ed. (Professions and Professionalisation)
14 D.C.Lortie - The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching. (Etzioni 'The Semi-Professions), pp.31-4.

as: Pay; Status; favourable images of the contribution made by the profession to the client or society, Skills and Autonomy, have been met for the different groups, rather than imposing any particular order on these. Following March and Simon, however, the suggestion is that these items do represent important ingredients of personal satisfaction for the individual with his professional role, and that, taken together, can be viewed as contributing to a favourable self-image, or sense of worth with which such role incumbents view themselves.

Proposition One : Work and the Self-Concept:

Satisfaction in one's work situation involved a variety of considerations for the Probation group. Both material and emotional/psychological needs were stated by these officers as having influenced their decision to join and to remain in the Probation Service. Moreover, the different sets of considerations were important in as much as they could be viewed as feeding into the individual's concept of self, as a particular kind of person. (Ashley, Trahair, Coxon, Fox). Material considerations of Pay and Status are important in as much as they can be seen as imposing general limits on the individual's life-style and social standing in the community and, therefore, reflect either favourably or unfavourably on the individual.(Brill). Indeed, Strauss states that

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B.J.Ashley, et al. An Introduction to the Sociology of Education, 1969.
R.C.S.Trahair 'The Worker's Judgement of Pay and Additional Benefits' pp.201-4.
T. Coxon 'Occupational Attributes', Sociology, Vol.5, 1971.
A. Fox 'A Sociology of Work in Industry', pp.12-13.
K. Brill 'Blueprint for B.A.S.W.' (Part 2), Social Work Today, 1971.
G. Strauss 'Some Notes on Power Equalization', p.45.

the literature in this area of work satisfaction stresses that the basic need of man is survival, to which end pay would appear to be an important ingredient.[15] Strauss further suggests that such basic survival needs must be met before other needs, such as self-acualisation in work, will be sought.

PAY:

At the time of the study, Probation Officers were among the most highly paid group of social workers in the country. However, Probation Officers, either as individuals or as a group, may have used groups other than social workers in evaluating the material benefits they received from the job.(Trahair). The officers were asked to indicate their personal satisfaction with their salary on a five-point rating scale ranging from Very Satisfied to Dis-satisfied; 36.7% of Probation Officers were 'Very Satisfied' with their salary; 21% felt it was adequate and a further 42% felt that the pay scale could be improved. A sizeable number of the group felt that there was some room for improvement in this area. However, no officer expressed complete dissatisfaction with the pay rewards offered to him in the job.

STATUS:

With respect to the amount of status which the work had provided the officer in the community, 36.7% felt that they had, in fact, benefited from entry into the Probation Service and that Probation was a 'step up' over their previous employment. The majority of officers, however, felt that their general work status had remained much the same.

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15 G.Strauss. opcit. p.45
R.C.S. Trahair (a) op.cit. pp.201/4

On both Pay and Status items, only one-third of the officers felt that they had achieved any material or social advantage by having joined the Probation Service. Operating at this basic level there were a number of Probation Officers who believed that there was some room for improvement in their conditions of employment. The adage that 'Man does not live by bread alone', however, would appear to be important when viewing how the Probation Officers approached their work. The non-material dimensions of the work can be thought of as the intrinsic sources of satisfaction which were available to the Probation group and these sources which concern us here are the MEANINGS which the group attached to their work and to their role as professionals.

Meanings of the Work:

The meanings which the individual comes to have about his social world, including his occupational world, exist, according to Dale, as a sort of datum, as a given reality.[16] They are manufactured by others similar to himself, but who have preceded him in theprocess; so that roles are broadly patterned and exist for the individual and are known by him before he takes up that position. Once in the position or status, the individual engages with similarly situated others in validating or redefining his activities, not only for himself but also, perhaps, for those who will follow on from him in the process. The point to be taken up is that whether at the point of entry or as the occupant of a

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16. R. Dale - 'Phenomenological Perspectives on the Sociology of the School', pp.178-180. Educ.Review, Vol.25, 1973.

position, it is the pattern of the group's response to the activity or position which, at least initially, will influence the behaviour of the individual. We would expect, therefore, that the meanings which individual officers will hold of their work will largely reflect the views of the group as a whole towards that activity. It is the group, then, which generates the images about the broad nature of the work and the self-concepts of those who chose to take up such a role. (Etzioni)(Fox). This group influence was evident in the manner in which Probation Officers interpreted the 'Good' or ideal type Probation Officer. For the great majority of this group (89.2%) the image of the Good Probation Officer was someone who had a breadth of Experience of Life. This characteristic was far and away the most important for this group. It was followed, in joint place, by the need for Probation Officers to be Professionally-trained and to have an Acceptance of the Client (52.5%). Least important was a university education and a sense of authority or identity with the courts. To a large extent, the characteristics prized by the group reflected the characteristics held by themselves. These officers were typically the more mature recruit who had held other work posts in society and whose education consisted of the learning-through-living, rather than academic training. No officer had a university background. Those who had a qualification (63%) had gained this after completing a one-year professional course or, in the case of

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A. Etzioni : 'Modern Organisations', p.35

A. Fox : op.cit. pp.14-17

the longer-serving officers (15.7%) had received their professional qualification on the strength of their length of service in Probation. The qualities favoured by the group were essentially those of the man, and only secondly, those which can be instilled by training. However, training was important, in as much as it located the activities of these officers within a particular cultural framework or set of values concerning the nature of the Probation Officer's task. These values then became important as guide-lines for the direction of their efforts and in their assessment of their satisfaction in the work.

Johnson states that professions are occupations with a high degree of 'self-consciousness' which is to a great extent wrapped up in the ideologies of the groups, each of which lay great stress on the essential worth of their respective practice.[17] Citing social work as an example, Johnson views it as a service activity which is geared to the problems of the individual, but which is also concerned with the general welfare of society.[18] As a 'helping' activity, part of its ethos is to support and befriend individuals who are in some form of social distress. Social work, however, has a second set of values - values which concern the 'helper'. The Probation Officer can be seen as someone who personally benefits from the helping activity, in the sense of deriving personal gratification from being in a position to assist others in need. (Parsloe, Timms, St.John). One method of discovering whether such broad sets of values concerning the nature of probation work did, in fact, provide a normative framework within

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17 - T.J.Johnson 'Professions and Power', pp.56-7

18 - T.J.Johnson, op.cit. p.13
P. Parsloe, op.cit. pp.81-2
N. Timms, op.cit. p.170
J.St.John,op.cit. p.258

which individual Probation Officers carried out their duties was by ascertaining how these officers viewed their work and the sets of personal satisfactions and dissatisfactions they experienced in the course of their duties. If these values about the nature of probation work as a helping activity benefiting the client, the society and the social worker himself were important to the Probation Officers, as a group, then one would expect individual officers to express a sense of satisfaction when these expectations concerning the role had been met and dissatisfaction when these expectations were not met with in the work situation.

Elliot suggests that for professionals, it is the nature of the job itself which is of central importance, and not the extrinsic rewards which are to be gained from engaging in that work.[19] The nature of the professional task is largely contained in the ideologies and the professional identities concerning the work. It is the meanings given to the tasks, and not simply the task activities themselves, which are of importance to the individual. The work is seen as important and of general social utility, rather than a self-interest. Every Probation Officer in the study firmly believed in the importance of his work. The importance of the work lying in the nature of a service which they offered the individual (42%) and the benefits which their work provided for society (26.2%). The remainder justified the importance of thework in terms of the fact that society had thought the service sufficiently important to finance and to staff. How individual officers interpreted the

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19 Elliot. op.cit.

nature of the importance of their task is clearly illustrated in the following statements:

> "Yes, our work is important. We give most clients a fair crack at the whip in court, which possibly would not be the case without probation. The background report does this."
>
> "The client has a better chance before getting into serious trouble and getting sent to an institution. It (Probation) means that the client can make out easier socially."
>
> "Because people need to rely on you. They need the support and someone must provide this service."
>
> "In so far as it can relieve the strain and frustration of members of the community in general, and offenders in particular."
>
> "It's important to society andit services a need in the community."
>
> "It is a very necessary field of social work which comes low on the list of priorities in a financial sense, and in many cases they (clients) are the displaced persons in our society whom few want to know."
>
> "If I didn't think it (probation) was important,I would not be keen to do it."

Although these particular Probation Officers were very well acquainted with the economic* arguments in favour of probation rather than imprisonment, as a group they preferred to view their work in the nature of a personal service to the client, which also provided benefits for society at large. They did not view them-

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* That probation is cheaper than imprisonment.

selves as custodians, but as social workers with a commitment to help a particular category of clientele. This service ideal regarding the nature of probation work was further reflected by these officers in their statements concerning those areas of work satisfaction which were regarded as particularly important as well as those aspects of the work seen as particularly frustrating.

For 89.3% of the Probation group, the area giving most satisfaction to the officer was contact which the work provided with those in need and the ability on the part of the officer to attempt to meed this need. 'Working with' and 'Helping people' stood out as the most satisfying aspect of the work. Next in the order of importance came the worker's sense of Autonomy and Freedom in the work, and if one added to this the sense of Challenge in the job, for 73.5% of Probation Officers, self-actualisation in the work situation presented the second most attractive feature of the work. Approximately one-third of the officers (31.5%) also listed personal and emotional gratification as a reason for engaging in that specialist branch of social work services. In almost every case, Probation Officers listed more than one source of satisfaction in their job, even when specifically invited to state only the most satisfying. The statements of these officers should serve to illustrate, both the fact that more than one dimension of the work was often seen as important, and that the areas of satisfaction fed largely into the 'service' ideal of the work and into the Probation Officers' concept of themselves as professional workers.

> "Basically working with people. I don't like the court set-up much. I like this particular set-up at the moment of re-settling boys coming out of institutions. I'm my own boss here, more or less, and

I deal with situations that I think are important."

"I like meeting people of all kinds. Can't see myself now in a job, shut away from people. I don't think the money comes into it. It's the belief that I sometimes succeed in helping people with a problem reach a better adjustment."

"The constant challenge each client brings, and the reality of failure as well as success."

"It's what I want to do most. I like meeting people. Couldn't work in an office now. Being able to supervise my case as I think best."

"It gives me inner satisfaction."

"Trying to be of assistance to social misfits."

These views held by the Probation Officers of their work largely reflected what they had been encouraged in their training to seek from that area. Parsloe, for example, talks about probation as exciting, as offering the individual a feeling of belonging and as providing an opportunity for the individual to work out personal and emotional needs.

The other side of the picture is, of course, dissatisfaction with the work situation. Dislikes were considered important because they not only provide a picture of the state of the organisation as seen by the worker, but these dissatisfactions also indicate what the worker believed the nature of the job should be. The meaning of the work can, therefore, be got at by looking at what was 'missing' in the work situation as much as by what was present.

Whilst sources of job satisfaction were fairly concentrated for the Probation Officers, dissatisfaction in the work showed less

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P. Parsloe. op.cit. pp.81-4

agreement for this group. However, there were a few areas which were more generally shared, and these related to Pressure of Work (42%); Inability to help the client (26.2%); Unco-operative clients (26.2%); Staff shortage (20%) and 'Red-tape' (15.7%). The significance of these problems lay essentially in the fact that the officers were placed in situations which put severe strains on their ability to help the client and to conduct their work in a manner which they considered professional. Pressure of work could be seen as resulting from almost any of the other adverse features which Probation Officers attributed to the work situation as indicated by some officers in these remarks:

> "Pressure of work and lack of staff to do it. Means that the officer is under stress all the time."
>
> "The pressure of work. Not giving justice to background reports (for courts). This worries me. Dislike of red tape."
>
> "Caseloads and time are limitations. Frustrations of not having enough time to work with my clients in what seems to me the best way."

The data on the Probation Officers' views of the important nature of their work, their likes and dislikes in the work situation, point to the fact that these Officers did utilise the broad normative framework concerning the Probation Service when evaluating both what was of value and what was frustrating in the work situation. It is noteworthy, for example, that frustration in the work typically centred around the obstacles Probation staff encountered in achieving their service and professional goals and were only rarely concerned with extrinsic sources of work dis-

satisfaction such as pay, hours or conditions. Moreover, to the extent that probation work was generally defined as a socially useful and important type of work, it is reasonable to suggest that those who engaged in that work would derive some feeling of self-worth. Such a view would appear to be justified in view of the following remark, which typified how many of these Officers looked upon their work:

> "I don't think that money comes into it. It is the belief that I sometimes succeed in helping people with a problem to reach a better adjustment which makes it worthwhile."

Apart from the fact that the majority of these Officers got personal satisfaction from engaging in socially 'good' works, Probation Officers also saw themselves very much as a professional group and, as such, adopted particular attitudes towards their work role. A number of empirical studies have indicated that almost every category of work will contain members who will seek, or who will demand, a degree of control or personal autonomy in the work situation. (Roy, Lupton, Crozier, Coch & French). However, for some groups such control or autonomy in the work sphere is generally regarded by the community at large as a pre-requisite of the work and/or is justified on the grounds that the group has a special body of skills and expertise which is peculiar to the group. These latter groups, who are generally seen as deserving of

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Roy - op.cit.
Lupton - 'On the Shop Floor'
Crozier- 'The Bureaucratic Phenomenon'
Coch & French - 'Overcoming Resistance to Change' In Swanson, et al. Readings in Social Psychology.

greater autonomy in their work have what Greenwood would call the hallmark of the professional.[20] The ability of professional individuals, however, to achieve this sense of autonomy in his work role is constrained by the organisation in which he operates, and whih may set limits on his areas of discretion. (Kornhauser). The organisation, therefore, becomes important as a context in which the individual can, or cannot, validate or sustain his concept of professional autonomy and his use of professional skills and expertise.

The ability to manage and control one's work activities can be seen as related to the individual's sense of competence in the work, as well as the structural features of the organisation which either permit or restrict such individual control. (Trahair). Considering, first, competence, it could be viewed as the possession by the individual of the necessary qualities and abilities required for the work. Qualities refer to the individual's sense of social suitability for the work which is, Coxon suggests, important in the individual's sense of 'ease' in the activity.[21] Abilities relate to the individual's grasp of the essential skills required in the job. Some workers may possess both these characteristics, others only one. It would seem reasonable to assume that for work which requires a high degree of skill on the part of the worker, and also generates certain images about the nature of the

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20 Greenwood - 'Professionalisation' - Volmer & Mill(eds)
Kornhauser - 'Scientists in Industry', p.10
R.C.S.Trahair - 'Hynamics of a Role Theory for the Workers' Judgement', pp.99-119, Human Relat.Vol,22, 1969.

21 T. Coxon, op.cit.

work and its personnel, the possession of both ability and social suitability for the job would contribute to the individual's feeling of competence in the work situation, rather than the possession of only one, or none, of these characteristics.

The Probation staff were among the most highly skilled (in terms of professional qualifications) and the most experienced (in terms of length of service) of all four specialist groups in the study. 78.7% held some form of Probation qualification, which attested to their possession of the acceptable standards of skills and expertise. The remainder, who as yet lacked such training, were nonetheless confidently awaiting places on a forthcoming training course in Probation work. The great majority of Probation Officers (94.5%) believed that they had the necessary qualities of the 'good' Probation Officer and felt they were temperamentally suited to the work. This assessment of Probation Officers' suitability for the job had, in fact, some external basis in as much they had acceptance onto the Central Register and individuals not on the Register did not qualify for probation training. The credentials of the Probation Officer, therefore, had already been established elsewhere.

Feelings of competence in the work were more likely to involve a combination of qualities and abilities or training, rather than simply one or other of these factors. 68% of Probation Officers felt competent to deal with every aspect of their work and of the 31.5% who felt less competent in situation, two-thirds were untrained and had been in the service for less than fifteen months. Training and experience in the work, therefore, appeared

to be important, but not sufficient condition to promote a sense of competence in the worker.

Competence in the work situation would appear to give the worker a greater sense of leeway in deciding if and how he would attempt to control his work activities (Roy. Gouldner. Roethlisberger & Dickson). However, this control, or potential control, is only socially meaningful when it is given some direction and is utilised by the worker. One can assume that, in general, people will be concerned with controlling those aspects of the work which are of importance to themselves, rather than those which are not meaningful to their activities (March and Simon. Granick. Nove). The stance which the individual will attempt to adopt would appear to be largely influenced by the values which the individual and, more particularly, the group holds about the nature of the work (Etzioni, Goldthorpe et al.). In the case of the Probation staff, the values guiding their activities would appear to have been those associated with the service ideal of their work and the image of professional workers. Both these sets of values came together in the manner in which Probation Officers

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D.F. Roy - 'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop' A.J.S. 57, March 1952.
A.W. Gouldner, op.cit. pp.108-11
F.T. Roethlisberger & W.J.Dickson - 'Management and the Worker', 1939.
March and Simon, op.cit. p.152
D. Granick - 'The Red Executive', 1960.
Nove. A. - The Soviet Economy.pp.169;195-206
Etzioni - 'Modern Organisations', p.35.
Goldthorpe et al. 'The Affluent Worker', pp.43-67

viewed their relationship with the client. The service ideal and the professional socialisation of Probation Officers highlighted the importance of 'the relationship' which the officer had with his client. This relationship received further reinforcement from the court, which typically made a Probation Order on a client naming the particular Probation Officer responsible for the case. Given that professional workers might seek a degree of autonomy in their work role, one would expect that they would be concerned in gaining autonomy in those areas concerning the client/probation officer relationship, since for any professional group, it is the client who can be viewed as being of central importance to the profession.

Client Supervision: The ability of the Probation Officer to supervise his clients was of great significance to the worker, because it involved the 'relationship', or the means through which the officer is thought to be able to effect some change in the client's anti-social behaviour. The Probation Officer is encouraged by his training to deal with each case on its merits and in the light of his 'professional' judgement (G.Smith). In this important area of their work, these officers experienced a considerable amount of autonomy in their job. 73.5% of Probation Officers stated that they had Complete Control, and the remainder (26.3%) A Good Deal of Control in the supervision of their clients. To the extent that supervision of clients and the preservation of the client/worker relationship was important (and the meanings which the officers attributed to the work in terms of likes and dislikes, etc., would suggest that such was the case), then in

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G.Smith. op.cit.pp.27-35

that respect, Probation Officers have considerable scope for deriving satisfaction from the work situation. Moreover, the majority of these officers saw themselves as being given the opportunity by their senior members of staff to conduct their work activities as the individual Probation Officer saw fit.

However, the Probation Officer had a number of organisational constraints on his use of himself as a resource on behalf of the client. Some of the more important constraints were illuminated in these workers' dislikes in the work situation, namely pressure of work, shortage of staff and other type work commitments such as work on behalf of the courts. Given the variety of factors intruding on the client/worker relationship, we would expect that the Probation Officers would attempt to utilise their autonomy in the situation to protect that relatioship. In fact, if one looked at the Timetable of the Probation Officer, it became obvious that these officers had established sets of priorities to protect their more important interests. 52.5% of the Probation staff felt they had Complete Control over the organisation of their work and 36.7% a Good Deal of Autonomy in this area. If one went further and also enquired as to those aspects of the work which they typically acted upon, it became evident that the scale of priorities in the work was centred around protecting the professional nature of the client/worker contact. As probation officers, these men were also the servants of the court and provided a service to the court. As professional workers, however, these officers made particular evaluations concerning some of the activities which the court asked of them against their own professional concept of their role

in the service. Often - as in the case of Fine Supervision - it was the probation officers' definition of the situation, rather than the obligation to the court, which decided how these officers would allocate their time.

Fine supervision involved the Probation Officers in ensuring that persons fined by the courts, and who were required to make regular payments, in fact paid the fine. Some attempt had been made by the courts and, half-heartedly, by the professional association, to raise the work to some acceptable professional status (Monger). However, this group of officers, similar to probation officers elsewhere in the country, intrepreted this work as debt-collecting, and as an extra. An extra, moreover, that should not be the remit of the probation worker, given the pressures on the department. In practice, Probation Officers ignored fine supervision and dealt only with those cases where there were long periods of arrears, and, then, typically by letter rather than a visit.

The construction of background reports and the information contained in these by the worker were also used on occasion to protect the client/worker relationship by attempting to inform the courts of the problems of the Probation Officers, due to the heavy volume of existing cases. At the time of this study, the senior and his staff were discussing the possibility of stressing such information in nearly all of their court reports, in the hope that some external pressure might be applied which would result in better staffing ratios; which, in turn, would protect the professional

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M. Monger - 'Casework and the Money Payment Supervision Order', Probation, 1966.

relationship with the client by allowing the worker more time to devote to individual cases.

Whilst the courts have the right to determine who would be put on probation, the individual officers determined who would receive their ongoing attention. Whilst the law dictates that all probationers be seen during the first weeks of their probationary period, the period usually extends from one to three years, and it is the officer who decides on the amount of supervision any client will receive. Because of pressure of work, officers tended to focus on the more difficult or problematic cases and/or on those cases where they felt their service would do most good. Routine cases, or those doing satisfactorily, were simply asked to report at some regular interval. In providing this view of the Probation Officer's response to a particularly stressful work situation, it is not implied that these officers were concerned with unloading work; rather the redistribution of the various claims were typically worked out against the norms and values which governed the nature of the work and the role of the professional worker. Officers were generally very much concerned with providing a service to the client, and there were several occasions where different Probation Officers had been asked, because of the sheer number of cases they held, to pass on some cases to colleagues, but, in fact, the officers did not do so, even although this meant more work for themselves. The criterion in each case was whether it was 'good' for the client to be moved, rather than good for the officer.

The fact that Probation Officers believed that they had a considerable degree of autonomy in the work situation, and the use to which such autonomy was typically exercised, i.e. in the

general interests of the clients and the importance of maintaining the professional relationship, indicate once more the importance of both the professional values and specialist service ideal which directed much of the behaviour of the Probation staff, and which typically provided the most satisfying experiences in the work situation for the Officers. In their work activities, Probation Officers could be seen as attempting to validate their concept of themselves as specialist social workers and, to some extent, these Officers could be regarded as having a degree of success in this area. The fact that as a group, they saw the work as important, drew their major satisfaction from the intrinsic nature of the work and generally saw themselves as having a good deal of personal autonomy in the work situation, would appear to meet with the considerations which March and Simon had included in their first proposition of the relationship between work and favourable self-concepts held by the worker. On most counts studied here, Probation Officers could be regarded as engaging in work which provided the development of favourable self-images for the individual.

These sources of satisfaction in the work, however, could be seen as posing problems for the employing organisation. Individuals are recruited by the organisation to be used as means, but according to Selznick, they respond as individuals bringing with them their own sets of needs into the situation.[18] It has been suggested here that one's needs are largely structured by one's important membership groups, and in this particular instance, the individual's professional group. These profesional needs, however,

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22 Selznick. op.cit. p.251

may conflict with the organisation's own sets of requirements. Miller makes this point most clearly when he states 'professionals must be given enough autonomy to enable them to fulfil their professional needs, yet their activity must also contribute to the overall goals of the organisation, with the result that individuals who experience such conflict over professional and organisational demands will become alienated from the work situation, the organisation, or both'.[23] Miller, however, also states that organisations will differ in respect of the amount and type of conflict which they generate for the professional employee.

One might reasonably imagine that organisations which share or support the general service ideal of the professional employee group, e.g. a social work agency, might be less alienating than an organisation which does not hold a service commitment as the official policy. However, as Smith points out, social work departments may displace their broad service goals in favour of goals which are less central to the service ideal.[24] Blau and Scott also found that in social work agencies, whilst both the professional employees and the organisation shared a general service commitment to the client and the community, in practice this general principle was often compromised for some administrative need of the organisation, or in response to external pressures from the environment. Any decision on the part of the organisation to compromise may be viewed by the professional workers as a defection from professional standards, or even the aims of the service itself.[25]

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23 G.A.Miller - 'Professionals in Bureaucracy', pp.755-67 A.S.R.1967

24 G. Smith - 'Social Work and the Sociology of Organisations' p.32.

25 W.R.Blau & Scott - 'Formal Organisations', p.72

The dilemma may lie in the fact that, whilst both the organisations and the professional employee are concerned with 'services', the perception of who constitutes the client may be viewed differently by either side. The social worker may particularise the situation in terms of the individual client or caseload; the organisation may politicise the situation in terms of public image, survival, etc. The organisation's dilemma is that the satisfaction of either of these sets of goals can only be effectively met through the social worker. The conflict is partially resolved if the worker adopts what Scott calls an 'organisational frame of reference', rather than a professional orientation to the work, i.e. the social worker identifies with the administrative requirements of the job. Moreover, Scott holds the view that social workers, in joining an agency, generally do agree to operate within its framework and accept the organisation's definition of the situation.[26]

The view held by Scott that social workers would generally be content to operate within the framework of the organisation's policy did not, however, hold good for the Probation staff, three-quarters of whom stated that they were quite prepared to operate and, indeed, on occasion had operated, outside the framework of the employing department. The justification for doing so was the view that the framework and policy of the department was sometimes an impediment in the worker's ability to provide a professional service to his client. In the Probation Department, the conflict which existed arose out of the two possible interpretations of 'client' and 'service'. The service clientele of

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26 - W.R. Scott - 'Professional Employees in a Bureaucratic Structure: Social Work', pp.90-96.

of the organisations was essentially the courts: this was the official view of the Probation Service and was highlighted in the Morrison Report of 1962.[27] It was the courts which had legitimised the service for society, and it was primarily through its auspices that the Probation Officer came by his clients. Whilst Probation Officers attempted to comply with the requests from the courts, there were, nonetheless, limits to which the Probation Officers were prepared to go. These limits were influenced by the Probation Officers' perception of the detrimental effect which fully servicing the courts and complying with court rules would have on the service to the client and the client/worker relationship. The officers' identifications generally lay with the client because this was where the bulk of the workers' interactions took place and from which they derived much of their intrinsic satisfaction in the work. Few officers had any strong sense of identification with the court system. The Probation Officer was a 'servant' to the court, but a 'friend' and counsellor to his client. The fact that the courts delegated full responsibility for the client's supervision to the Probation Officer also appeared to strengthen the officers' commitment to make the relationship a successful one. Whilst the Probation Department was concerned primarily, but not exclusively, with the servicing of the court, the Probation Officers were concerned with serving the client as a first priority. These officers adopted a predominantly social work orientation to their job, rather than that of the court official. The problem of the organisation was that both service to the court and to the client could only be met through the use of the professional workers.

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27 Morrison Report, op. cit. pp.246:94.

Given that the organisation hires its workers as a resource to be used to further the ends of the organisation, it is to be expected that it will employ controlling devices which will set limits to the worker's personal discretion. In social work agencies generally, these controls are exercised both through the legal and policy framework on which the agencies operate, and the built-in supervision of social workers by senior members of staff in the respective departments. (Scott. G.Smith). However, it has already been demonstrated that Probation Officers as a group did not view the department's framework and policy as necessarily binding on themselves. This, then, raised the question of whether supervision of staff was an effective means of bringing staff back into line with the department's policy.

Dorothy Smith states that the extent to which the organisation can build control mechanisms into the structure is largely influenced by the nature of the work activity involved. 'Front-line' individuals, are persons who have the power, because of their specialist skills or low visibility, or both, to implement, or not to implement, the organisation's objectives and directives in the pursuit of their individual tasks. Probation Officers, together with social workers generally, could be viewed as 'front-line' staff, in that they had some concept of themselves as possessing special skills, need autonomy and were working in the 'field' for the greater part of their working day, and thereby were removed from immediate physical control of the organisation. Moreover, the Probation group as a whole (73.5%) rejected any suggestion that the senior in charge should be given automatic

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Scott, op.cit. Etzioni. 'Semi-Professions', p.113
G.Smith, op.cit. p.27
D.Smith: 'Front Line Organisation of the State Mental Hospital' Admin.Science Quarterly, Vol10, 1965.

authority by the Probation Officer over how the latter should spend his working day. This questioning of the acceptance of automatic supervisory control by the organisation is reflected in some of the more recent studies of supervision of social workers (G.Smith. Scott. . Blau), and tends to challenge the notion that authority in bureaucracies will automatically reside in the office. Moreover, 94.5% of Probation Officers did not consider it necessary to keep their senior members informed regarding all the professional problems encountered by them in their work. They were most likely, however, to raise as professional problems with their seniors those aspects of the work which appeared to interfere with the service that could be given to the client, and in this respect raised difficulties of staffing and caseloads. The somewhat autonomous view which the Probation staff adopted in the pursuit of their role was possibly influenced by the belief expressed by the officers; namely, that the individual officer was solely responsible for the welfare and supervision of the client and that, whilst the senior may offer advice in the matter, the officer was free to ignore the advice. Probation Officers could take this stand because they said, only the Probation Committee - and then only with the permission of the Secretary of State for Scotland - had the power to dismiss the Probation Officer from the service.

The Probation Officers as a group, therefore, had a considerable degree of felt discretionary power in the work situation; they were critical of certain aspects of the work situation, and were prepared to operate outwith the legal and policy framework of

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G. Smith. op.cit.

P. Blau - 'Dynamics of Bureaucracy' pp.128/134
W.R.Scott. op.cit. p.93.

of the department if, by so doing, they could protect or improve the service which they provide to their clients. This view of the Probation staff and their actions is far removed from the stereotypes often held of them by other social workers as authoritarian and that part of the professional 'image' which is contained both in the legislation governing the service (Morrison Report) and the training literature on the group. (J.King. Parsloe. Roberts). These Probation Officers did not sanction, either in their values or by their behaviour, the authoritarian nature of the relationship between client and officers, or the subserviant relationship of officers to the courts. The Probation Service, for the majority of this group, was a service to the client and the community.

The apparent fact that these Officers felt able to achieve a degree of autonomy in the work situation, and were able to use this in the interests of preserving their image of themselves and the social work nature of the task, provided much of the job satisfaction which operated as inducements for their continued participation in the organisation. Their behaviour reflected the statement made by Elliot concerning professional groups, 'Professionals...are workers who derive satisfaction from the work itself, not simply from the extrinsic conditions of work or from the rewards it makes available." [28] To the extent that these Probation Officers had succeeded in finding such experienced in their work, it would seem that the first proposition that workers would seek favourable self-concepts from their work-role had, in fact, been met to an acceptable level of satisfaction for this

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28 P. Elliot. op.cit. p.137
J.King. op.cit.
P.Parsloe. op.cit.
J.E.Roberts. op.cit.

group of specialist workers.

Work Relationships:

The Second proposition of March and Simon holds that the greater the predictability of on-the-job relationships, i.e. the co-operation by others who are directly involved in the individual's ability to carry out his work role with minimal levels of tension or disturbance, the greater the worker's sense of satisfaction in the work situation. On a priority basis, the more important sets of work relationships for the Probation staff were those with the organisation, their colleagues, their clients and the Courts. Each of these sets of relationships could be considered important, because each in its own particular way contributed to the Probation Officer's ability to do his job and to achieve a sense of satisfaction from his efforts. The organisation provides the resources and also delegates the work tasks to the individual officer; his colleagues provide support and information on how to improve his effectiveness in the situation. (Trahair, Roy) and also help to sustain a particular professional concept of self; (Strauss et al.); the courts provide the majority of the Probation Officer's clientele and legitimises his role in the society; whilst the client provides much of his justification for engaging in the work in the first instance. March and Simon state that the worker requires to experience a sense of security in his dealings with these significant others. One means of achieving such security

Blau. Carper)

R.C.S.Trahair '=Dynamics of Role Theory for the Worker's Judgment' pp.113/4. Human Relations. Vol.22, 1969.
D.Roy 'Making Out', in T.Burns (ed.) Industrial Man', pp.355/360
J.Carper 'Elements of Identification with an Occupation' in A.S.R., June 1956.
P.Blau op.cit. pp.165/172
Strauss et al. opcit. pp.144/8

might be through gaining either a degree of power over the relationship or eliciting co-operation from these important relationships. To the extent that the officer is able to achieve a degree of security among these important sets of relationships, satisfaction with the work situation would appear to be increased.

The Organisation:

In societies such as our own, organisations seek to gain control over the work-force through manipulative or co-operative means, rather than through naked coercion. (Bendix. Gouldner. Jacques.) Etzioni suggests that differently based organisations may adopt different methods of enlisting the energies of their workers, and that for groups such as the professionals, a major means would be through the operation of a particular value system or code governing the activity. The latter was, indeed, the case for the Probation staff, who, as professional workers, were employed by a service agency to provide a service to their various clients. The framework and policy of the department recognised the prime importance of the client/worker relationship authorised through the courts. Moreover, the department seniors tried to protect these interests of the worker in their allocation and re-allocation of caseloads among the staff. Whilst workers may generally be thought of as resources of the organisation, this department was conscious of the fact that their staff brought their own particular needs into the situation and developed commitments, indeed the staff were encouraged to do so in the process of carrying out their job. The department gave its officers a

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Bendix - Management & Authority'
Gouldner - op.cit.
E.Jacques - 'The Changing Culture of a Factory'
A.Etzioni.- Modern Organisations. p.59

considerable degree of professional autonomy in how the staff pursued their work and, indeed, the nature of the work - field service rather than office-based - tended to reinforce this concept of autonomy in the staff. Staff, moreover, were generally satisfied with this relationship to the department. The department was also seen by the staff as having a Good communication system, whereby information on the service and the workings of the department were passed on to the field staff (73.5%). It was also a work situation in which almost all Probation Officers felt suited and in which two-thirds felt fully competent.

Problems did, however, exist for officers within the department in terms of caseloads and pressure of work. These difficulties were related to problems with the Probation Committee in charge of the overall service, and were not attributed by staff to the head personnel in the department. Management shared with the staff the frustrations of the work situation and co-operated with them in attempting to devise ways whereby the pressures could be reduced. The organisation, therefore, both by providing a set of values which reinforced the worker's concept of self as a Professional Probation Officer, and by aiding the worker in attempting to fulfil his expectation of the job, could be seen as providing a source of support and security for the officers.

Colleagues:

Among the Probation Officers, the colleague was as great a source of information and consultation as were the senior members of staff who were officially designated as having supervisory duties. As a group, these officers shared many of the characteristics noted by Blau in his study of welfare staff; there were

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P.Blau - 'Dynamics of Bureaucracy', pp.145,182.

strong personal relationships in evidence among staff, with many of them lunching together locally and meeting in the evening for a drink in the pub. Coffee-break was the most important time during office hours. It was then that the staff came out of their individual offices and met in the small coffee room and swopped information and enlisted help with their cases. The prospect of officers failing to get thefull co-operation of their colleagues was remote. Asked if they could RELY on this SUPPORT from their COLLEAGUES, 47.2% felt they could 'always' do so and 52% 'Nearly Always'. In terms of the general degree to which Probation staff felt themselves able to call on the assistance and co-operation of their colleagues, it would seem that these Probation Officers enjoyed quite favourable and secure relationships in their work.

The Courts:

Probation Officers readily spring to mind as the group of social workers most clearly identified with the Court system. They were also, by virtue of the specialist nature of their work, highly dependent on the court's co-operation and support. The majority of Probation staff held quite favourable views of the court and their own relationship with it. 42% of the Probation group felt that they could ALWAYS rely on the Court's co-operation and a further 47.2% felt they could NEARLY ALWAYS do so. Only 10.5% of Probation Officers believed that they could rely on the court for co-operation only SOMETIMES. Very few officers were concerned at the prospect of lack of support from the courts, as this seemed too remote, or the exception, to give rise to serious consideration or anxiety. The confidence which these officers had in their relationship was built upon the service which their

department had provided to the courts in the past, and was not the result of a slavish adherence to court demands. Indeed, Probation Officers, by their attitudes towards fine supervision, challenged the supremacy of the court in their day-to-day activities. They were nonetheless conscious of giving a particular service to the courts which had been appreciated in the past, and felt quite secure with the relationship. The fact that staff had also discussed the possibility of informing the courts on the pressure of work, and thereby getting the force of the courts behind their claims for more staff, also indicates something of the strength of the relationship which these officers thought to exist between the courts and themselves.

The Clients:

The client (offender) provides Probation Officers with their special area of responsibility - their reason for existing, as it were. However, because of the very nature of their clientele (all in one sense or another criminal rule violators), the latter would appear to be unlikely sources of co-operation. Moreover, for offenders, involvement in the relationship with the Probation Officer typically represented the better of two unattractive alternatives, i.e. probation or imprisonment. A number of the probationers, at least at the outset of their probationary period, could be viewed as reluctant clients. Yet, surprisingly, 31.5% of Probation Officers felt that they could NEARLY ALWAYS RELY ON the co-operation of their clients. The majority of the Probation Officers (63%), however, believed that such co-operation was only to be relied on "SOMETIMES". Only one officer stated that he could:

NEVER RELY on his clients' co-operation. The situation for many of the officers was somewhat insecure, in as much as co-operation of clients could not be taken for granted nearly as much as that of colleagues or the courts. The insecurity might be expected to be raised since we have already witnessed that the client provided a fundamental source of work satisfaction for the Probation Officer. How, then, was the potentially threatening situation overcome? At least three factors possibly contributed to allay feelings of anxiety of Probation staff confronted by a less-than-co-operative but, nonetheless, highly significant group in the work situation. The first factor related to the legal conditions which created the client/worker relationship. These conditions spelt out the legal requirements which had to be met by the clients under the threat of being brought back before the courts to face what could be an alternative sentence. In fact, it was relatively rare for such breakdowns to come before the court, which could be interpreted as indicating that the relationship between client and officer rarely deteriorated to the extent where 'Breach' measures were necessary. The second set of factors which could be seen as protecting the officers from anxiety feelings when confronted with a lack of co-operation from the client, were the officers' ultimate faith in the 'relationship', their faith in the casework situation. These ideas concerning the fundamental importance of the relationships in effecting change in the client were, of course, contained and reinforced by the training they had undergone and the general set of beliefs which underpinned the client/worker relationship, and which were largely shared by the Probation group in the work

situation. The third factor, which could be seen as relieving potential tension brought about by lack of co-operation from the client, was to be found in a second, but related, set of values concerning the client/worker relationship. These were the values which recognised the potential failure of the relationship as being almost inevitable for particular clients, but which also suggested to the worker that the full impact of his contribution might yet be felt,by the client, albeit at some later stage.

The following statements should help to indicate the ways in which these different values appeared to operate for the Probation Officer:

> "No, I don't think you can depend on the co-operation of clients. It is frustrating sometimes, but you have to expect it now and then."

> "The very nature of the problem means that you cannot take it(co-operation) for granted. No, it doesn't worry me at all."

The central importance of the client for the worker, however, did mean that of all his on-the-job relationships, his relationship with the client was typically the one which provided these officers with greatest concern. 47.2% were SOMETIMES concerned by the conduct and lack of co-operation from their clients and 15.7% were NEARLY ALWAYS concerned when such occurred.

> "Sometimes it (lack of co-operation) worries me. I've only had one breach (of probation), and that worried me. You ask yourself - 'Is it me or the boy?' (who is responsible for the breakdown.)"

With the possible exception of the client relationship, these officers could be seen as having very secure on-the-job relationships and a relative absence of competing demands which could not be resolved in ways which permitted the staff to safeguard their concern for the client and the services which they, as a group, provided to society. In the area of client relationships, which did appear more problematic, there existed build-in mechanisms, such as the legal requirements governing the client/worker relationship; the faith which these officers had in their counselling abilities; and the support of the professional values of the group, which both provided the prescription for success and a philosophy for failure when dealing with particular clients. Taken together, these factors did appear to protect in the individual to some extent from the more extreme feelings of frustration in the situation. These mechanisms provided both a degree of security for the worker and the motivation to continue in the face of such possible resistance. Anxieties which could be raised by the client were, therefore, to some extent anticipated by, and explained away for, the professional group who operated in that branch of the service.

When attempting to assess the Probation staff in the terms of overall security, they expressed in their on-the-job relationships, it became apparent that, as a work group, they operated within a very favourable situation and that the general security in the relationships could be used to indicate another possible source of satisfaction which they experienced in their work. To the extent that the adult work status is important for the individual's concept of self, his relationships with these

significant others could be seen as providing the Probation Officer with a context in which he felt secure enough to be able to attempt to validate his concept of himself as a Probation Officer, with all that such an image entailed.

Third Proposition:

March and Simon's third proposition concerning the worker's felt sense of satisfaction with the job, involved the degree of fit between the individual's work-role and other non-work-roles held by him, e.g. as a husband, etc. The proposition held that the less conflicting these other expectations and obligations of the extra-work roles were with the work-role proper, the less strain the individual would experience and, therefore, the less conflict he would feel from continuing to engage in the work-roles. Goode states that an important constraint on the individual's ability to fulfil his various role obligations are the constraints imposed on him by the limited time which any individual has at his disposal. That persons whose working hours follow the pattern for the working population at large will find less conflict over the scheduling of, for example, family and other leisure roles, than those workers whose work conflicts with what are normally regarded as family and leisure periods.

The hours worked by the Probation staff were longer than those of the average working man in the rest of the country, with two-thirds of Probation Officers working over ten hours per day. However, the group did not appear to find the situation as too confli cting with their other non-work relationships. The absence of any real clash of interests between family and personal leisure interests was in no small measure due to the fact that their

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W.Goode 'A Theory of Role Strain', pp.483-6. A.S.R., Vol.25, 1960.

private life appeared to be tailored to meet the requirements of the work situation in a manner which was similar to the commitment shown by otherprofessional groups to their work. (Parker. Purvis). These the workers had generally adopted a philosophic approach to the nature of the work as highlighted in the following remarks, which were typical of those given by the group, to the possibility of a clash between work and non-work interests of the Probation Officer:

Question: "Does your work clash very much with your private life interests?"

"Yes, to some extent. But one learns to organise private life to suit work life. I've got an understanding wife who has a similar type of job. I like to try to keep the weekends free."

"Occasionally. I've got a family and would like to see a lot more of them, but the family accepts it very well. I've got every weekend at home. In the police I only had one-in-four."

"No. Friends are of like mind, although the work does limit the time available for social life. But I'm not married, so I don't mind so much."

Once again, constraints in the job were balanced by the officers against the satisfactions of the job and the importance of the contribution which the work made for the client and the society. The training situation and the values governing the service highlighted the necessity of the Probation Officer to accept the potential clash between work and private interests as part of the nature of the job, but one which was to be weighed against the importance which such self-denial on the part of the

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S.R.Parker. op.cit. pp 2i4-19
J.Purvis. op.cit.

officer might have for the wellbeing of the client. To behave professionally was to put the interests of the client and the service first, and, in practice, such appeared to be the situation with this particular group ofspecialist workers. The family and friends of the officers either shared, or were encouraged by the worker to share in definitions of the work as of social importance, and thereby view the officers' behaviour in a more tolerant fashion. Whilst the work did appear to make demands outwith the norm for the population as a whole, the hours worked were viewed from within a professional framework by the officers and by the friends, thereby reducing much of the potential conflict of interests in the situation. The values of the group and the situations which necessitated the longer working day being more important than the number of hours worked when these officers came to evaluate their situation for themselves and to others. Such a stand reflects the practices of workers in other high involvement occupational groups. (Gerstl. Parker).

March and Simon provided three propositions concerned with the degree of satisfaction which the worker might experience in the work situation. To the extent that the areas cited had been met at some level of satisfaction, then to that same extent, one could expect the individual to experience some commitment to the work situation and be prepared to continue to participate as a member of that organisation. The foregoing data on the situation of the Probation group indicate that they experienced quite a high degree of satisfaction in the majority

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J.E.Gerstl - 'Determinants of Occupational Community in High Status Occupations' "Socio.Quarterley", Vol.2,1961
S.R.Parker - 'Type of Work, Friendship Patterns & Leisure',Human Relations, 1964. pp.215-9

of the areas covered. Moreover, 84% of these officers stated that if they had not been satisfied with the work situation, they would have left the service; whereas, in fact, only 10.5% of the officers had applied for a post outwith the service. This would appear to bear out the general impressions gained from the foregoing data, namely that Probation Officers experienced a degree of commitment to, and satisfaction with, their work and their image of themselves as a specialist group, with a particular clientele and service to perform. Moreover, the accumulation of satisfactions in the work situation can be viewed as important in as much as together, they contributed to a favourable self-image held by the individual Probation Officer.

The other important fact to emerge from the data was the evidence that individual officers spent a considerable amount of their work day in acting out their concept of themselves as professionals and social workers, and that this was most clearly demonstrated when there was a conflict of demands on the workers' time and identification. In those situations where a choice could be made, Probation Officers typically chose the commitment to the client to take precedence. In the process of doing so, they reaffirmed, to themselves and their colleagues, their concept of themselves as professional Probation Officers and not Court officials or organisation men, the latter both being work images which were equally available to the group in that situation.

SUMMARY:

This chapter began with the statement that participation

by the worker is vital for the survival and effectiveness of any organisation. It was stated, too, that such participation is problematic for the organisation, in as much as it must attempt to provide the necessary incentives to motivate the worker to enter, and to remain in, the service of the organisation. March and Simon call the latter Inducements, and it was with the particular sets of Inducements which might be thought to be available to, or sought by, professional workers, which provided the framework for assessing the possible sources and degree of satisfaction which Probation Officers might experience in their particular branch of the Social Work Service. It was suggested that the values which are centred around a particular role could be seen as largely a product of the group who hold similar roles and/or who have an interest in seeing that such roles are met. These values and general images of the role then act to provide a framework for the activities of the role-holder which are his attempts to validate this concept of his role through experience. For adults in our society, the work-role provides an important source of identity for the individual. The more prestigeful or attractive the work image, the greater the likelihood that the individual will try to invest something of himself in the work and identify with the work situation. It was further suggested that such commitment might be expected to be associated with work of a professional nature, both because of the rewards and favourable social images which such work tends to offer its members. It was also the contention of this study that social workers could be regarded as 'professional' in as much as they designate themselves as such, and it was

with the workers' perception of the work situation which was of concern here, rather than the assessment of whether social work was or was not, in fact, a profession.

The majority of Probation Officers had entered the service as a result of both Push and Pull factors. All of these officers had held other jobs prior to coming into the Probation Service. The major reason for leaving their previous employ was the lack of satisfaction which they had experienced in their work. The major reason why they had chosen Probation was concerned with the nature of the job and its relationship to people, rather than to things. The majority of the Probation staff were male, and perhaps because of this, these officers were of the view that their pay rewards could be improved upon, even although, as a group, they had the highest salary among other specialist social workers at that time.

Probation, as a specialist branch of the Social Work Service, generated particular images of the work and of the types of personnel who might be suited to the work. The majority of Probation Officers in the department studied believed that they each possessed the necessary qualities and experiences which made for a 'GOOD' Probation Officer, and felt 'cut-out' for the service. This group of officers also contained a very high percentage of qualified staff, in the terms of officers who held a professional qualification (78.7%). Two-thirds of the group also felt competent to deal with any professional problem which might arise in the course of their work. Such competence was generally associated with the officers' possession of both a professional qualification and a sense of suitability for the work.

The Probation group exercised a considerable degree of personal autonomy in their work, particularly in the important areas of client supervision and the scheduling of their work activities. This autonomy enabled the Probation Officers to validate much of their self concept related to the work role, namely that of professionals and of Probation Officers. The specialist nature of the work lay in that it involved working 'with' and 'helping people' in trouble - invariably with the law. The officers had, and were encouraged, both by their professional training and by the service ethic of the agency, to develop a sense of identity and rapport with their particular clientele. That such commitment to the client existed for the majority of these officers was evident from the manner in which these men performed their role and the activities in which they engaged on behalf of the client, or to protect the client/worker relationship. This sense of identification and significance of the client was also apparent in the reasons given by the officers when justifying the importance of their work, and in locating those areas of the work which provided the greatest source of personal satisfaction for themselves in the work situation. The frustrations officers experienced in the work also tended to focus around the difficulties of providing what they regarded as an acceptable standard of service to the client. In their attempt to overcome the obstacles in the way of service to the client, Probation staff devised a number of strategies within the organisation of their work which were designed to protect the client/worker relationship. The setting-up of priorities

among different types of work and different needs of client were largely influenced by the officer's concept of himself as being a professional Probation worker with the responsibilities which such a position entailed. These officers did not look upon themselves as bureaucratic, or even as 'servants of the court'; but as professional social workers operating in a specialist field. Probation staff were conscious of the fact that they operated within a particular legal and administrative framework, but were generally prepared to operate outside that framework if they felt that the interests of the client could best be served by doing so. Probation Officers, unlike other social workers, believed that they had a security of tenure in their job, in as much as they were not employees of the local authority and their dismissal from the service involved the approval of the Secretary of State for Scotland and could not be taken at local authority level.

The autonomy which Probation Officers had in the work situation also derived from the nature of the work, which typically took place outwith the agency building and, therefore, the immediate vision and control of the agency's administrative staff. The structural features of the situation were further reinforced by the professional image attached to the work, and as part of that image the concept of autonomy by the worker in his relationship to the job. Certainly, in practice, relatively infrequent use was made of senior staff by field workers. The latter preferred either to counsel their colleagues or to make the decisions themselves. One officer, when discussing the strategies which Probation staff typically adopted in the face of conflicting demands in the work situation, remarked:

"We don't actually get together and decide on any one thing, but there are only a certain number of things that you can do in the situation. You go through them all."

In this statement he was again drawing attention to the autonomous nature of the work when viewed from the position of the Probation Officer in the field. They did not resort to senior staff for help, other than administrative help, simply because they did not see these people as requiring to be implicated in the officer's problems. It was certainly not because of the poor relationships between staff and seniors, since every officer stated that his senior was an approachable person, but rather the structure of the service and the culture of the group placed the senior at some distance from the worker.

Probation Officers, however, were not completely outwith the control of their employing agency, but the fact that the agency was a service-oriented agency meant that both worker and management shared certain values relating to the work. This sharing of values had the effect of allowing the officer to seek out those experiences which he found satisfying in the service, without feeling that he did so at the expense of the agency itself. The agency provided a means of validating his concept of self as a probation officer. Even where there existed a conflict of interest over 'who constituted the client' - the court or the probationer - the agency, concerned with retaining both commitments in the work, did not demand that the courts receive automatic preference from the officers, but rather attempted to balance the different sets of demands. Probation Heads of Departments were also actively involved on behalf of their staff

to obtain more members for the department, but for this they had to go through the Probation Committee. The lack of success in their application for more staff was seen by the officers as a result of the lack of interest on the part of the Committee, and not in the agency itself.

Probation Officers generally enjoyed secure work relationships with fellow-officers and the courts, but less secure work relationships with their clients. These officers, however, operated on a value system, which took the possibility of lack of co-operation from the client into account. Moreover, this value system relating to the concept of service, heightened the importance of the client/worker relationships as the means whereby change in the client could be achieved. Certainly no officer held the view thatthe client co-operation was never forthcoming in the work situation, or that the odds against assisting probationers in their care were remote.

In so far as the work-role demanded longer hours from the Probation staff than those typically worked in the community at large, the situation did not appear to present marked conflicts of interests with other non-work roles and interests. These officers had achieved a balance of interests between work and non-work roles which recognised the importance of the work role commitment. Generally, this had been done by informing significant others, e.g. family and friends, about the special nature of the work and its social utility and/or by making friends with those engaged in similar work who could appreciate the obstacles which the service imposed for leisure time pursuits.

For the Probation Officer, the work typically provided strong intrinsic satisfactions concerned with the particular service which they and their colleagues were providing for the client and for society.

Their work self concept was grounded in the relationship between themselves and the client and Probation Officers sought in their activities to live out their images concerning the nature of the role. The organisation and colleague relationships also acted to reinforce certain professional images in the worker and extra-work role relationships with family or friends could be seen as revolving around the nature of the work and the meaning which it held for the worker. Given such strong identifications on the part of this group to their particular clientele, it was anticipated that the demand to integrate with other specialist social workers and to take up a generic, or multi-purpose, social work role, would not be regarded as desirable by these workers, and that this lack of commitment to the new image of themselves and their work activities would meet with some form of resistance, at least in the short-term stages of the change.

The Mental Health Officers, the Welfare and the Child Care Staff will now be assessed on the same areas as those used for the Probation group, but in a summary form. The object - to present a pen-picture of these social workers, but to avoid the necessity of replicating in its entirety the arguments and propositions used when discussing the Probation staff.

MENTAL HEALTH OFFICERS:

The Mental Health Officers were located in two separate departments. The total number of Mental Health Officers in both departments was seven. Only one of these officers was a woman, and she was also the least trained and experienced as well as being the youngest member of this specialist group. The typical Mental Health Officer was a mature male with substantial experience both in mental health nursing and in mental health community work. The majority of these officers had entered the community Mental Health Service via the Mental Hospital Service and had been attracted to community mental health by the career incentives and the sense of professional development which the community Mental Health Social Work Service offered, as against the more limited role they had seen themselves to have had in the hospital setting. His desire to enter this specialist branch of the Social Work Service was based on what the new service had to offer, both in profession and career terms, and is very much reflected in the following statements:

> "I came from mental health nursing, as it appeared that the future of the Mental Health Services was to be based in community care."

> "I came in because of the improved prospects in relation to my previous psychiatric nursing post."

The respective organisation of each group did not appear to offer any particular incentives of its own to their staff, other than that each department gave them the chance to use their special skills and to engage in that specialist field. As a group, these men were also the most dissatisfied group of

social workers in the study with respect to the salary they received for the job, but the most satisfied group in terms of the status attached to the work. More than half these officers felt that their move into this branch of the service was a 'step up', both in terms of their individual careers and sense of prestige in the community generally.

As with the Probation, the qualities which Mental Health Officers saw as essential to the 'Good' Mental Health Officer were strongly influenced by the specialist nature of their work. The 'Good' Mental Health Officer was someone who had a good knowledge of psychiatry (71.4%), backed by professional training (57.1%) and an acceptance of the client (57.1%). Moreover, the majority (85.7%) of these officers believed that they possessed these special characteristics required in their work. Certainly, as a group, they were the most qualified officers, with 71.5% having both a Mental Nursing qualification and a professional Social Work qualification, suiting them for the work. None of these officers had a university background and the latter was considered by the group as least necessary in the 'Good' officer. The fact that the staff were both highly qualified and saw themselves as suited for the work was reflected in their sense of ease in the work situation, with 71.4% of the group feeling competent to tackle any problem arising out of the work.

Each department offered its staff a considerable degree of autonomy and Mental Health Officers came second only to the Probation group as the most autonomous group of social workers. Whilst, generally, better qualified for their specialist branch of the social work service than other specialist staff, the

Mental Health Officer nonetheless played a subordinate role to the General Practitioner and Hospital Psychiatrist with whom the service operated. Moreover, the nature of the clientele meant that his control over the behaviour of the client was somewhat more limited than that of other specialist workers. Nevertheless, as a group they did have a degree of autonomy over the supervision of the client, and in the scheduling of their work programme. Unlike their Probation colleages, these Mental Health Officers wanted more supervision by senior staff in their work. The senior staff, however, were all medical people, rather than social workers, and the desire for more assistance from the medical staff could generally be seen as due not to the lack of confidence in the work situation, but to the desire on the part of this group to extend their pfofessional knowledge base:

> "I would take a problem of diagnosis or treatment to a psychiatrist. Most problems of a professional nature go to the psychiatrist or psychiatric social worker."
>
> "There is much to be achieved yet for workers like me who work alongside the psychiatrist."
>
> "I like most of all my allegiance with medicine, and, in particular, the psychiatric hospital."

Supervision for this group was interpreted as an opportunity for professional development, and indicates something about how they viewed the nature of their work.

Every Mental Health Officer believed in the importance of his work, both for the individual client and for his family, who were seen as the main benficiaries of the service, and for the society at large.

"It helps the patient outside the mental hospital to readjust to what may have been a hostile environment before admission, and prevents recurrent illness."

"We are able to relieve some of the stresses and strains of families with mentally-handicapped members."

The significance of the client and the specialist nature of the Mental Health Officer's role was further reflected in the attractions and satisfactions which these officers found in their work situation. The most important source of personal satisfaction which these officers derived from their work was the opportunity presented by the work to make use of and develop their specialist skills (71.4%) and to help the client.

"What I like most is being able to use my experience and training and help the parient or client in his environment."

"The opportunity to pursue an interesting field of work and to utilise my own particular skills and interests."

Whilst the client was important to these officers, of greater significance was the ability of the officer to see himself as being able to progress professionally in this specialist area of his work. His satisfactions lay with his associations with the hospital-based psychiatric staff and the prestige and knowledge gained through such association. The client took second place as a source of satisfaction, partly because of the sheer number of clients officially on the cards of each department and who were required by the department to be seen only once or twice

in the year. The absence of any real facilities and services for many of the clients, e.g. mentally sub-normal, meant in practice that the 'client' was the person who was mentally sick and who had some existing or recent contact with the mental hospital, as it was this client who was more regularly visited and who was viewed as a priority of the staff. The mentally sick, rather than sub-normal, were also the group on whom the Mental Health Officer could practice both his psychiatric and social work skills through the 'relationship', which might be the only real resource which these officers had to offer their clients: the Mental Health Social Work Service being something of a Cinderella in social work as far as facilities and resources were concerned. Dislikes in the work situation were related to administration duties, red-tape and the shortage of staff to man the service. The mental health staff recognised the existing statutory and administrative framework governing the service, however. 85.7% were quite prepared to operate outwith this framework, if the interests of the client would be better served by so doing. Moreover, the more qualified among the staff were the least likely to accept the automatic control over their work by the department's senior staff who, in each case, was an Assistant Medical Officer of Health.

For the Mental Health Officers, the intrinsic satisfaction of the job lay in the status which they possessed over their last position - that of mental nurse - and their new relationship with both the client patient and the psychiatric staff. Their decision to enter and to remain in the service

arose out of the desire to improve their professional career and development prospects, and to continue their work with a particular category of clientele - the mentally sick. In terms of the ability of the job to provide the worker with favourable images of self-worth, the officers in this group had achieved some degree of success, but there existed some dissatisfaction over pay and the absence within each department of any senior posts for these officers. In this respect the fact that they were all, with one exception, married men with families, may have made them more critical of the wage structure, whilst the knowledge that other specialist-based social work agencies had their own career opportunities for promotion for social workers may have engendered a feeling of relative deprivation in the Mental Health staff.

The work relationships of the groups with colleagues and clients reflected the situation found among Probation staff, namely that colleagues could be relied upon for a great deal of co-operation in the work, whereas clients were less reliable in the situation. The lack of client co-operation was largely interpreted by these officers in terms of the special nature of the clientele. The client who is mentally ill cannot be expected to share the same perspective as the worker. Likewise, the low intelligence of the mentally defective group of clients could also operate as a limitation on the full co-operation of the client in the client/worker relationship. The lack of co-operation from the client gave rise to some anxiety among mental health officers, and this was particularly related to the removal powers which these officers had and which, on

occasion, had to be invoked in order to protect the client and the client's family. On such occasions the client could turn verbally and even physically aggressive to the officers, and the latter viewed such removals as potentially threatening to themselves. The courts, which might sometimes feature in the work, were seen as extremely reliable in the majority of instances, and gave little concern for the worker.

With the possible exception of his relationship with the client, the Mental Health Officers enjoyed quite secure work relationships with their colleagues, who provided both information and support, and with the courts, which were generally helpful to these workers. The client was least co-operative, but the anxiety levels of staff were not extremel Moreover, the professional training and the experience of these officers both engendered sets of values which accepted the client in all his behaviours. The ideology of the group helped these officers to neutralise the unco-operative behaviour of the clients as not behaviour directed at any particular officer, but rather as symptomatic of the illness and/or the need of the client for the worker's help and understanding. In their work relationship, therefore, Mental Health Officers could be seen as having fairly secure relationships with the important members of their work group and, as such, to have derived a sense of satisfaction from that aspect of their work. (Blau, Trist and Bamforth).

P. Blau. op.cit. pp.176/7

E.L.Trist and K.W.Bamforth - "Some Social and Psychological Consqquences of the Longwall Method of Goal-getting" Human Relations, 1951. pp.3/38

The relatively longer hours worked by these social workers as against those for workers generally had the effect of interfering with the family and personal life interests of the majority of these officers from time to time. The conflict was particularly felt when the officer was 'on call', either for an evening or during the weekend. This meant that officers were literally house-bound during the duty period in case any emergency arose. These officers, however, interpreted the situation in the light of two different sets of experiences; firstly, that it was part of the nature of the job, and, secondly, in spite of the inconvenience the work caused, it was nothing compared with the pressures which their previous nursing roles could have placed on their ability to fulfil family and other personal obligations.

In terms of the workers' ability to maintain some favourable balance between his work and non-work roles, these officers had achieved some degree of success, particularly since their reference group* was not the average working man, but a service which could and, for some, had, exacted longer hours than those currently worked by themselves. The present work situation, therefore, provided a more satisfactory situation for a number of these officers.

This profile of the work situation of the Mental Health Officer should serve to indicate something of the inducements which operated to hold these people to the service; principally

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* Reference group. 'Any group with which an individual identifies himself such that he tends to use the group as a standard for self-evaluation and as a source of his personal values and goals.' p.102. D.Kretch & R.S.Crutchfield & E.L. Ballach ey (Eds.). "Individual & Society" 1962.

the nature of the work as a specialist activity with a particular clientele and work colleagues. The dissatisfaction in the work related to salary scale and the absence of career mobility within their respective departments. However, whilst a number of officers had applied elsewhere for a position, only one officer (the girl) had applied for a post outwith the Mental Health Service. The majority of the applications had been for promoted posts within the Mental Health Service which, again, testified to the strength of the commitment of these officers to their particular branch of the Social Work Service.

THE WELFARE GROUP:

The Welfare Officers in the study were employed by two different local authorities, with one department employing ten of the fifteen Welfare Officers in the Group. The Welfare Officer was typically female (73.4% of the group were women), young (60% were under 25 years of age) and generally inexperienced. 40% of these officers had been in the service for less than six months and, again, this was most true of the women in the group. The motivation of these officers to join the Welfare Department was to gain practical experience in social work and to work 'with people'. However, only one officer specified either the elderly or the handicapped - Welfare Officers' main clientele - as a reason for joining that particular branch of the service. In answer to the question "Why did you join the Welfare Department?" the reasons provided by the officers indicated that the specialist nature of the clientele rarely entered into the worker's deliberations.

"I came into it by accident, really."

"Social work training and the lack of other social work jobs."

"Need for social work experience."

"A sincere desire to help others."

The relative absence of a specialist client commitment on the part of these officers was also reflected in the criterion established by themselves for the 'Good' welfare officer. In the opinion of this group, such a person should be professionally qualified (60%), have an accepting attitude to the client (60%) which is a basic value of professional social workers, and have commonsense in the approach to the work. Having a university degree was not considered an advantage, nor was the possession of specialist skills. The features which they chose to associate with the 'Good' welfare officer largely reflected those items they desired for themselves in the work, e.g. social work training, and also those behaviours which the job appeared to demand from the worker, namely, a commonsense approach to a quite routine set of tasks. Only 66.6% of these officers believed they had the qualities of a 'Good' welfare officer, and only 53.3% had any professional qualification for the work. The main attraction of the organisation in which the smaller group operated was the colleague-support, whilst in the larger authority it was the training facilities provided by the department.

Both Welfare Departments were seen by the Welfare Officers as providing favourable pay scales for the Welfare worker, but this may have been a function of the sex (female-dominated) of the group, rather than a reflection of high salaries in that branch

of the Social Work service. Women in our society tend to get lower salaries than men, with the exception of those women who work in the professions, where it is the nature of the work which determines the salary, and not simply the sex of the worker. Welfare Officers also contained a sizeable group who felt that their status had gone up by virtue of their taking on the job.

The feeling of competence in the work situation, which, in the case of both the Probation and Mental Health Officers, was strongly related to the worker's possession of professional qualifications and a related sense of suitability for the work, continued to be influenced by both these factors for the Welfare group. The latter, however, were generally less qualified and felt less equipped for the work and, subsequently, felt less competent in the work situation. Only 46.6% of Welfare Officers felt confident in tackling any situation which might arise out of their work, and these were the more qualified staff.

The relative inexperience and lack of qualifications among the staff was reflected, too, in the degree of autonomy which they were given in the pursuit of their role. Compared with the Probation and Mental Health Officers, Welfare Officers had less work autonomy. The larger group were required to report to the office first thing in the morning and to reassemble in the office fifteen minutes before the official close of the working day. Such reporting back to the office was not a typical feature of Social Work agencies. Officers did, of course, have considerable control over the scheduling of their work, but, as with competency,

it was the more highly-trained officers who were in the favoured positions. Nevertheless, as field workers, these officers generally had a degree of freedom in their work which took them outside the physical confines of the office for the greater part of the day. However, the remit of these officers was generally concerned with establishing eligibility for places in old peoples' homes or for handicapped 'aids', and other routine type work. The 'relationship', so important for the Probation group, existed only at a more superficial level among welfare staff.

"We don't do casework here."

"There is very little casework involved; it is very much an administrative job."

"There is a limited casework service."

All of these remarks were applied by Welfare Officers to the work, and indicate something of the secondary importance of the client/worker casework relationship in their contacts.

The general absence of the casework relationship, and this was particularly true of the larger group, was further reflected in the officers' intrinsic satisfactions. Whereas the most important factor given by both groups was that the work involved 'people', few officers made reference to the aged as a particularly attractive category of clientele, and those who did so, came predominantly from the smaller of the groups. The following statements concern the importance of the work for the larger and smaller groups and the sources of personal satisfaction gained from the work by the two groups of Welfare staff:

Smaller Department:

"I consider that dealing with elderly people's problems and affairs, and often affecting their lives in some way, for example, admission to an 'old folks home', is extremely important."

"I reckon when I've helped an elderly person or couple in some way, and bring about a bit of happiness or comfort in their lives, I feel my work is worth-while."

Larger Department:

"Somebody has to take the applications for the homes."

"I enjoy meeting people without getting seriously involved with them. Welfare work allows one to do this, as there is not a lot of continuous casework involved in my work."

"If the work is thought necessary in the first place, then there must be a need for it and hence it is important in its own right."

These different types of statements were made by officers in the smaller and the larger Welfare Departments, reflecting both the different ways in which the work was structured in the two departments - the larger department was very bureaucratic in its organisation of staff - and the different philosophies held by the trained/experienced staff (smaller department) against that of the inexperienced and untrained (larger department) staff. Trained, qualified staff adopted a more client-centred

approach to the work and recognised the possible implications of removal into homes and/or the difficulties of handicapped people. However, many more county staff were trained so that there was the possibility of greater reinforcement of the client/service ideal in that department.

The main dislike of these officers in the work situation in both departments was the degree of red tape, although, once again, this was most true of the large department.

"I hate being bogged down by red tape."

"At time it all seems very routine; there is a high proportion of administrative work involved."

"I dislike the hierarchical structure which exists in this department (Welfare). The individual has no say in the department's policy."

These Welfare Officers' dislikes in the situation were concerned with the clerical aspects of the work and the form-filling. They are not concerned about pressures of work or the shortage of staff. Instead, it is the routineness of the work which posed the major problems for a number of these officers.

Viewing the work in terms of its ability to provide the individual with favourable concepts of self, Welfare work appeared to achieve only a limited degree of success. Pay and status were generally considered satisfactory by the group, but only 53.3% were qualified and only 46.6% felt competent in their work. For the majority of these officers, and particularly the large group, Welfare work was important only in the sense that it provided them the means to enter a department which would subsidise their

future social work training, or that it offered the opportunity to work with people in a general, rather than a client specific way. The central importance either of the nature of the work or of the particular clientele was generally absent in this group of officers.

The ability of the Welfare staff in both departments to depend on the co-operation of their colleagues was very great; every Officer believed they could rely on their colleagues' support at least Nearly Always. Interestingly, however, the Welfare Staff were more likely than either the Probation or the Mental Health Officers to show a greater concern in the absence of such co-operation. Such concern was more particularly a feature of the younger, female and untrained staff in the group, the Probation and Mental Health Officers being predominantly male and the more mature officers in the study. The client of the Welfare Officer, when compared with the other foregoing specialist groups, Probation and Mental Health, was the most co-operative of clients and the least likely to give rise to anxiety in the worker. The security of the worker in his relationship with the client appeared to be based on the nature of the contact and the manner in which he typically approached the work. Welfare Officers had fairly superficial contacts with their clients, and generally looked upon the work as being routine visiting to establish eligibility, or the degree of possible deterioration, or any change in circumstance of the client awaiting admission to a home. The courts featured only minimally in their work and received almost no thought from these officers. The overall work

situation of the group was relatively secure, even unhurried. Such a situation could be interpreted as providing the individual with some degree of satisfaction from the work in their departments.

As a group, the Welfare Officers closely approached the hours worked by the average working man, doing a 40-hour week. It was the practice in the larger department for all Welfare Officers to be back in the office at 4.45pm. every day, prior to finishing work at 5.0pm. The ability of staff to keep to this regime was largely influenced by the nature of their clientele - the elderly and the handicapped, each of whom being more likely than other categories of clients to be house-bound and, therefore, more easily accessible to the social worker. Fewer repeat visits were necessary and this meant time saved. This regularity of work hours meant that work only interfered with family and personal interest occasionally (46.6%), or even rarely (33.3%). The work of the Welfare Officers was both ordered and compatible with their non-work roles and interests. Indeed, some of these officers stated that they found time during the working day to pursue some of these other activities, such as having their hair done, doing some shopping and even going home to do a washing and then reporting back to the office for closing time. If satisfaction in the work situation is related to the minimal degree to which work interferes with the individual's other roles and interests, then the Welfare staff were quite fortunate in this respect. The majority of officers stated that if they were dissatisfied in their work, then they would leave, but, in fact,

only 26.6% had applied for other posts, and these were for promoted positions within the same service. For a greater number of officers in the larger department, however, the tie to the department was related to the training grants which the department provided to these members of staff who were eligible and to the extent that these officers desired to go for such training, the incentive to remain with the department was great.

CHILD CARE OFFICERS:

Fifty-three Child Care Officers participated in this study. Sixteen officers were located in a relatively small Children's Department and 36 officers in a large Children's Department. The Child Care Officer is generally referred to in the literature as 'she'*, and this stereotype of the Child Care worker was upheld for this group, of whom 80.7% were women. These officers came second only to the Welfare group as being the youngest, least trained and least experienced workers in the study. More than half of the group had been in the services for less than one year, and only 48.1% had a professional qualification. They were, on the other hand, more likely than the other specialist workers to have received some form of higher education (71.1%). The Child Care Officer had typically been attracted to the work by the specialist nature of the service and its clientele. They had entered out of a desire to help children and their families and saw the importance of the work as residing in this ability to provide a service geared to that particular group. Several officers also indicated something of their own personal needs as being involved in their original decision to enter the work:

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* E.Pugh. "Social Work: Child Care", p.105

"Superficially an interest in the community and the individual within the community. I now recognise the personality needs operating in any choice of occupation."

"Wish to work for and with children."

"Child care is possibly closer to fundamental human caring attitudes than probation, and perhaps because children evoke this, it has a more protective quality than welfare."

The organisation was important, in that it provided the Child Care Officers with the means to satisfy some of their concern for children and families. The work was also seen as varied, and this, too, was seen as an attraction of the work.

The image of the 'Good' child care officer was seen by this group as having Professional training (80.7%), an accepting attitude to the client (75%), and some experience of life (42.3%). With the exception of the values which these officers adopted towards the client, the other features - professional qualification and experience of life - were both aspects which were relatively absent for this group of young and inexperienced women. Nevertheless, the majority of these officers (80.7%) felt that they had the qualities and personality needed for the job. However, the absence of a qualified staff meant that the majority of the group did not feel competent to handle any situation which could arise from their work.

In spite of the relative absence of trained and qualified staff in each of the two Children's Departments, the Child Care

staff were given a high degree of personal autonomy in their relationships with the client and in the organisation of their activities. Indeed, these officers had more autonomy than their more qualified colleagues in the Welfare service. The Child Care Officer's autonomy in the situation appeared to result from two sets of factors, the first relating to the nature of the clientele and the second to the ideology governing the service. In Welfare Departments, the client/worker relationship was relatively supervicial, whereas in Child Care the 'relationship' tended to be viewed by the officer and her department as very much 'the service'. Moreover, these Child Care Officers typically worked in the field and, therefore, away from the overview of their employing department. Child Care had, since 1963, also attached to itself the concept of a preventive rather than a residential caring service and the officers were encouraged by this ideology of their departments to adopt a more supportive role towards the client. However, the fact that these officers were generally untrained and inexperienced meant that for many, such autonomy was sometimes unwelcomed. Child Care Officers, more than other specialist workers, sought more supervision from the senior members of staff in their work and, in fact, Child Care staff made greater use of their senior staff than did the other forementioned specialist groups. This use of senior staff was facilitated by the fact that basic grades and senior staff tended to share the same office, and were generally regarded as being 'approachable'. The role of the senior, however, did not go unchallenged. 65.4% rejected the idea that a senior should be accorded automatic authority over the officer, and this was

particularly the view held by the more qualified staff and the more highly educated members of each department.

The meaning which the work held for these officers and their more important sources of personal satisfactions in the job were created by the specialist nature of their clients, i.e. children and families; and the service being provided by the worker.

> "I like the opportunities for mending families, helping people grow, being in touch with the fundamentals of life and feeling."
>
> "I like working with people, especially children and young people, and having worked in residential child care, I transferred to field work, as I considered it to be more satisfying."
>
> "I like the variety, with the possibility of pursuing particular areas of interest and developing special skills."

Likewise, the frustrations and dissatisfaction experienced by the Child Care Officers reflected these same concerns for the client and the concern forprofessional development:

> "I dislike the limitations of time able to spend with families and children because of pressure for the service and the limitations of the resources."
>
> "High caseloads with the resulting inability to work in any depth. Providing a patchwork service to the client."

The importance of these statements by Child Care Officers on the satisfying and frustrating aspects of the work situation are that, together, they serve to underline the significance which these officers generally attached to the nature of the work, as being an important source of personal satisfaction and personal identification. Their work was a service; one which cared for the child and his family and one in which they, the Child Care staff, played an important part.

Child Care staff could be seen as having work which provided intrinsic sets of satisfaction, and which generated a particular commitment to a specialist clientele. Materially, however, Child Care staff were less happy with their pay and few believed that their status had benefited in any way with their entry into the service. These limitations were possibly compensated for a number of the group by their ability to find some satisfaction in having their own admitted personal needs met in their work.

Child Care Officers had a high degree of confidence in the co-operation of their colleagues, although the smaller department group were somewhat more secure in this respect. However, Child Care Officers generally were likely to be concerned by the absence of such colleague-support, and in this respect the Child Care Officer resembled the Welfare group, which was also largely untrained, inexperienced and female. The clients of the Child Care staff were not seen as generally 100% co-operative, but the lack of client co-operation appeared to be less of a worry than the lack of co-operation from a colleague. As with the other

specialist groups, Probation and Mental Health, the Child Care staff saw uncertainty of client behaviour as simply 'part of the job', the part which made the social work value of 'acceptance' so important in their work.* Their contribution to the client lay in their preparedness to continue to offer support during the period of the client's difficulties. To some extent, these officers experienced generally secure relationships with colleagues, although their relative inexperience made them more dependent on this continued goodwill than was evident for the more experienced workers in other fields. In the case of their clients, where security of the relationship was less, there existed, nonetheless, values governing the nature of both the work and the client which enabled these officers to persevere in their efforts.

The Child Care Officers resembled the Probation group in that they typically worked a longer day than the average working man. The longer hours interfered with private life interests for approximately half of the group - especially the married women. Their response to the situation was similar to that of the Probation staff, i.e. to marry their work role and other non-work commitments in some satisfactory manner. A number of married women in the service spoke of the understanding shown by their husbands and family to their working late, e.g. meals not prepared, or left to be made by the husband himself. In almost every case, these women spoke of the interest shown by the husband in the wife's work, and how sometimes he would be used to clarify her own views on the problems of her clients.

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* 'Acceptance'. This is one of the most important of casework principles and also one of the vaguest.
J. Moffett 'Concepts in Casework Treatment', p.32

There were limits to the extent of such support, however, and a few wives stated that their hubbands had complained about them taking their work home with them, either in their conversation or, sometimes more literally, in terms of case-files to be recorded or brought up-to-date in the evenings, or at the weekend. For the other half of the group, the hours worked did not appear to be nearly such a problem, and this was particularly true of the men and the single girls of both departments.

The Inducements prevailing in both departments for these Child Care Officers were essentially the work, involving as it did working with children and their families and, by doing so, preventing family breakdown. The variety and the challenging nature of the work - work which took them outside the agency - was welcomed by the majority of the staff. Over and above this were the relationships which were formed by the staff with their colleagues and, in the caseof the larger department, the paternalistic atmosphere which prevailed between the Childrens' Officer and his staff. The smaller department, on the other hand, had a more bureaucratic form of management. Few officers in either department had applied for other positions, and of those applications only 17.3% were for posts outwith the Child Care Service, indicating the strength of attachment to the service, if not to a particular department.

CONCLUSION:

It has already been suggested that work could be viewed as an important adult status in society, and that the individual could be expected to derive something of his concept of self from

the possession of such status. Moreover, some statuses, by virtue of either the prestige rewards or nature of the work role, can be expected to generate a degree of commitment to themselves on the part of the workers, and that some such attractive statuses would be those loosely termed 'professional'. The work situation, including the professional work situation, also provides the individual with the occasion and the experiences on which to validate the images and meanings which he and his group hold of their work activities and contributions. It is the hypothesis of this chapter that work which generates strong sets of Inducements - commitments to remain - for the worker, and which encourages the individual to develop a sense of identification with the work, then changes in the sets of Inducements and meanings of the work can be expected to meet with some resistance. In this study the suggested commitment was to a specialist work role which was undergoing radical change, both in content and in meaning, from what had hitherto been established for the worker. It was hypothesized that such specialist groups would find their transition into the new role difficult because of their earlier investment of themselves in specialist-type work. In order to test out these ideas concerning the impact of such radical role changes, it was necessary to establish at the outset that commitments of the kind mentioned in fact existed for those workers about to undergo a change in role. To this end, the study of the different specialist groups was made with a view to determining the nature of the specific Inducements which operated for the different workers. If one knew what the commitments and Inducements were, one would be in a better position to view the behaviour

of these workers in the new work situation, since March and Simon suggest that individuals attempt to hold on to those aspects and inducements of the work which are seen as of some importance to themselves.

The Probation, Mental Health, Welfare and Child Care groups could each be seen as receiving a number of Inducements in their work situation, although not always of the same intensity or kind. Pay and salary scales were viewed as being more satisfactory by Welfare and, to some extent, by Probation Officers, than was the case with the Child Care and Mental Health staff, who were generally dissatisfied with the pay situation. The Welfare and the Mental Health workers were the most satisfied with work status, but both Probation and Child Care officers felt no real change in status had resulted from their entry into their particular branch of the services. Work relationships with significant others in every case were generally secure and non-work roles were either not affected by the work commitment, or had been coupled to the work commitment in some manageable way. However, the most important aspects of the work, in so far as this study is concerned, were the sets of images or the meanings which the work held for the different groups of specialist social workers.

Each specialist group, with the possible exception of Welfare, had a strong sense of identification and commitment to the area of work and its special clientele. Probation, Mental Health, Child Care and about one-third of Welfare staff derived strong personal satisfaction from their specialist work role.

March and Simon. op.cit. p.109.

Moreover, each specialist agency or department provided both the structure and the experiences with which to validate the concepts which these workers had of the work and their own role in it. Both Probation and Child Care staff adopted strong client-centred views of the work situation. The Mental Health Officers were generally more committed to the development of the specialist expertise and identified more closely with the hospital-based psychiatric staff, whilst Welfare Officers again adopted a more bureaucratic view of the work situation. Welfare Officers adopted this view principally because it was the major definition of the situation which they had, as less than half were professionally qualified for the work. Requests to the Welfare Department for admission to an old folks home or for aids on the part of the client were typically met with the establishing of the client's eligibility for such facilities on the part of the worker. The personal satisfaction of the latter, particularly officers in the larger welfare department, was the fact that they were generally working with people, rather than specifically with the elderly, etc., and with the assurance that they were on the Social Work ladder.

Difficulties in the work situation in each case would be seen as reflecting the different levels of commitment to the client. Probation, Child Care and Mental Health workers were more concerned by lack of resources and staff to cope with the needs of the client. Welfare workers, on the other hand, were generally less aware of infringements by the organisation of the service to the client, but more likely to stress the bureaucratic features of their role, e.g. form-filling and administration

as major dislikes. The Welfare Officers also worked with less sense of urgency or pressure than any other group.

The different specialist groups were also characterised by differences in the percentage of their staff with professional qualifications and/or social work experience. However, with the possible exception of the Welfare group, an absence of qualification or experience did not necessarily mean an absence of commitment to the specialist clientele. Child Care staff, the least qualified in the study, had a stronger sense of client commitment, in the terms of satisfactions which working with the client brought the worker and the degree of concern shown over the client's wellbeing, than their more highly-qualified colleagues in Mental Health. More important was the culture of the group which served to enforce or reinforce the significance or otherwise of the client and the extent to which the structural features of the agency (control, remit, resources, etc.) made allowance for these sets of values of the work. The influence of the goals of the organisation and the meanings which the workers attached to their role was evident in the terms on which they 'accepted' the client. In each case, acceptance of the client was related to the sets of values dominating the service. The Probation staff accepted the client as underprivileged, as aperson potentially rejected by society of whom one made a friend. Mental Health Officers accepted the client in terms of the client's 'sick' role, in which case they attempted to treat and support the client almost as a patient. Child Care Officers adopted a substitute mother-type approach to the problem of their clients. Whilst Welfare staff were generally concerned with the machinery

whereby the client could, or could not, gain admission into care. The generalised social work values of acceptance of the client were particularised in the different agencies, and served chiefly to reinforce in the worker the nature of the organisation's goals in relation to the clients, and the appropriate stance these officers would be expected to develop. In the field of Probation, Mental Health and Child Care, the value of keeping the client in the community was more in evidence than was the case in Welfare. The fact that for the Probation, Mental Health and Child Care groups, this responsibility for keeping the client in the community largely rested with the worker, possibly engendered stronger client feelings for these groups. In the case of Welfare Officers, the residential establishment openings removed the responsibility and the worker tended to view herself as a go-between rather than as the central figure in the relationship.

Since few workers in any agency applied for positions outwith their particular specialist field of operation, it seems reasonable to infer that most officers were generally satisfied with the overall work situation. The fact, however, that these Inducements to remain in a particular specialist field existed, does not preclude the possibility of other sets, yet unknown, of Inducements being available in the new situation. How the workers would respond to the change in circumstance would be influenced by their knowledge of the changes occurring and the meanings which these changes had for their own situation, both as specialists and as persons.

CHAPTER 5

ANTICIPATION OF THE CHANGE

Smith and Scott, in their respective discussions of social workers, see the latter as working in departments or organisations which are essentially bureaucratic in nature.[1] The bureaucratic nature of social work organisations is further considered as restricting the ability of such departments to undergo fundamental changes in either their character or their activities. (Bennis, Davies). Blau, on the other hand, is resistant to the static picture held of organisations because of their bureaucratic features, and suggests that not all bureaucracies are necessarily resistant to change, as is so often assumed.[2] A great deal depends, he suggests, on the nature of the feelings and the attitudes which are adopted by the workers of the organisation in the face of the proposed changes in their work situation. The attitudes are, themselves, the results of two sets of factors. The first relates to the feelings of competence of the worker in the pre-change situation and the second factor is concerned with the ideological base on which the organisation itself operates. Persons who are insecure in their existing work situation in terms of their sense of expertise and their on-the-job relationships as, for example, in the case of the new or inexperienced or untrained staff, or the less competent worker, are more likely to feel threatened and exposed by the new

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G. Smith. op.cit. pp.94-5
R. Scott in AEtzioni. 'Semi-Professions' p.73
W.G.Bennis. op.cit. pp.40-60
C.Davies 'Reaction to Change', p.334. in Case Conference, 1968.
P. Blau 'The Dynamics of Bureaucracy', pp.232-246

changes than the more competent worker. Apart from these feelings of skills and competence, another important set of factors is the ideology of the organisation, and the extent to which that ideology provides favourable supports for the proposed changes. Where the ideology of the organisation is itself progressive and innovatory, the meanings contained in the change will be less threatening than in those instances where the dominant ideology of the organisation is not flexible, or is resistant to change.

Innovatory organisations, to the extent that they have been successful in confronting the problems for which they have been set up, may find that they have worked themselves out of a goal or an area of activity. As a result of this, such organisations, providing they wish to remain in existence, are required to seek out new objectives to replace those which the organisation has realised. (Blau. Sills). For innovatory-type organisations, change - or, at least, a readiness towards change - can be seen as endemic. The ideological perspective of the organisation, therefore, is an important variable in influencing the ability of its members to adapt and respond to changing situations.

Blau suggests that workers who have security of tenure in their work; who have secure social relationships with colleagues and clients; who are competent workers; and who belong to a progressive, reformist-type organisation which has been successful in achieving its objectives, would tend to share and to welcome the organisation's need to find new goals and

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P.Blau. op.cit. pp.241-6
D.L.Sills 'Succession of Goals', p.64 (In Sills 'The Volunteer')

will participate in an adjustive manner to the changes taking place.[3] Sills, also looking at the ability of bureaucratic organisations to make an adaptive response to changes in their goals, suggests that the ideological base of the organisation is an important element, facilitating or limiting the ability of the organisation and its workforce to make adjustive changes in their objectives for the organisation. Sills states that to the extent that the organisation and the workforce have a sense of the importance of the contribution which overrides their commitment to the immediate objectives of the organisation, then such workers and organisations have the necessary motivation to make a search for new objectives for the organisation to pursue once the existing goals have been achieved.[4] The organisation continues, not simply because its goal(s) has yet to be achieved, but also because the nature of the organisation's activity or interests make for a succession of goals, once existing goals have been attained. Change, therefore, can be regarded as an outgrowth of the successful organisation attempting to remain alive and to seek new objectives for itself and its members.

Whilst both Blau and Sills suggest something of the adaptive nature of the bureaucratic organisation confronted with the prospect of change in its immediate objects and activities, the question to be answered here was whether the specialist social work staff in this particular study met with the conditions associated by Blau and Sills with an adjustive

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3. Blau. op.cit. p.243.
4. Sills. 'Succession of Goals', p.187.

response to organisational change. These conditions cited by the above authors concerned the level of competence of the work staff; the security of their on-the-job relationships; their security of tenure in their work; their participation in a successful reformist-type organisation; and their sense of identification with the new aims of the organisation and the necessity for change. If one looks at the social work specialist groups on these same criteria, we find that whilst all had a sense of security of tenure in their work, approximately half the total workforce was relatively new in the field, untrained for the work, inexperienced and lacking in a sense of competence to perform their work role to what they saw as the appropriate standard. Each group, however, had good on-the-job relationships with other members of staff, particularly at the colleague levels. Moreover, each group could be seen as operating in a 'reformist' and progressive-type agency, in as much as each group was concerned with making some improvement in the lot of some unfortunate group of people in society, and that the nature of the service being provided to each category of clientele had been improved over the years. However, none were in the position of claiming that their respective objectives on behalf of their clients had been achieved. Indeed, one could interpret the new legislation as being indicative of the absence of such achievement in the respective areas. The amalgamation being an attempt to overcome a number of these shortcomings in the individual services. Moreover, whereas for both Blau and Sills the adaptive response of both the organisation and the staff to the changes in the

organisation's objectives appeared to be favoured by a sense of completion of the old goals and the bridge between these former goals and the new work goals, the same situation could not readily be attributed to the social workers' situation. Not only was there an absence of a sense of successful completion of their specialist activities on behalf of their individual clients, but the new work role proposals involved something of a denial of the old role commitments and identifications. Moreover, these specialist social workers had been variously trained to expect a degree of emotional involvement by themselves in their work. It was to be anticipated, therefore, that such committed social work staff would find the termination of these commitments problematic and they would be more likely to resist change than to adapt to it, at least during the initial stages of the transition. Moreover, studies of individual workers who have been obliged to leave their tasks incomplete, and who feel the need for a sense of completion and achievement in their work, indicate that such individuals are reluctant to part with that aspect of their role.[5] (Trahair, Simpson et al.). That such a feeling of loss of role and sense of incompletion in the work was associated for a number of these social workers, was mentioned in a variety of ways by the different groups, but made more poignant in one social work article entitled "Is the Probation Service to Die?" (Maclachlan).

Blau, in his own study of a Welfare agency, had suggested that where the interests of the client appeared to be greatly

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R.C.S. Trahair (B) op.cit.
I.H.Simpson, K.W.Buck & J.C.McKinney 'Orientation Toward Work and Retirement, and Self-Evaluation in Retirement", pp.75-77.
D. Maclachlan 'Is the Probation Service to Die?', Probation, Vol. 14, 1968,
P.Blau (b) op.cit. p.240

threatened by the changes taking place in the organisation, some form of resistance was to be expected from those workers who held a service orientation to their work. A similar situation could be seen to exist for social work staff involved in this particular set of organisational changes. The changes involved in the move to the new Social Work Department structure appeared to interfere with personal sets of commitments which individual specialist groups attached to their clientele without any guarantee that such changes would, in fact, prove beneficial to the service provided.

The fact that the changeover to the new departments could not be regarded as a continuous development of the existing situation, furthering the aims and interests of the different specialist services, was evident in the views expressed in the various social work journals of the day. Spencer, commenting on the nature of the new proposals, spoke of the "great impending change in the organisation of social work" which involved quite fundamental changes, and of the expected resistance which would be made to it. A resistance which, he suggested, would be related to questions of "power, position and prestige" of the different groups involved in the changeover.[6] One major outcome of the changeover to the new Social Work Service was the concomitant change in the professional identity of the worker with the subsequent loss of specialist roles, titles and clientele. Because of these drastic changes in the nature of the work, Spencer stressed that those in support of the change -

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6 J. Spender 'Unification and the Scottish White Paper' (Case Conference, vol.14, 1968, pp.4-7)

> ".... should not assume, however, that all members in the separate professional groups feel alike about the movement towards unification. Some will feel favourably disposed, others antagonistic." [7]

This uncertainty as to the attitudes and feelings of the different specialist groups to the changeover was also clearly reflected in the following editorial of a predominantly Child Care-oriented social work journal by a member of a professional specialism notoriously resistant to the proposed changes which were scheduled to take place in the service:

> "Inevitably many individuals have misgivings and doubts about the future. There is a real fear that some of the achievements of the specialist associations may be discounted and the results of years of hard work to establish high standards of practice, good lines of communication with other professional groups and the confidence of the general public may be threatened. There will be difficulties and strains as the details of the new organisation are worked out." [8]

Such sentiments received further reinforcement in the following statement, again drawn from the professional journals of the social workers:

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7 Spencer, op.cit. p.5.

8 A.S.W. News, October 1967. Case Conference, Vol.14, 1967/8, p.223.

> ".... the idea of a comprehensive social work department has much to commend it, but nevertheless, on balance, the Probation service could make a better contribution to the wellbeing of the community in general and to the rehabilitation of the offender in particular if it were to remain outside local authority administration."

The author went on to state that in the case of the Scottish Probation Officers,

> ".... it looks as though the probation service (in Scotland), too, will have no choice other than to enter the new service structure."[9]

Evident in these statements is the fact that a degree of ambivalence existed or was attributed to social workers who were involved in the integration proposals. Such was the situation in the services, at least up until six months before the actual dateline for the official move to the new service structure. Assessing how the attitudes of the social workers in the various branches of the services had developed in that interim period, either towards an acceptance of, or a continued rejection of, the new service proposals, was the object of this section of the research study. Because of the composition of the four specialist groups in the study in terms of the numbers of trained and competent staff in each group, and in terms of the commitment and identification with a particular specialist area of work, it was anticipated that all groups would show some ambivalence to the change, but that this would be related more to the sense of identification with a particular field of work rather than to competence alone.

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9 F.V.Jarvis ('In or Out - An Agonising Appraisal'), Case Conference p.137, 1967.

It was also hypothesised that the amount of preparation which had been put into restructuring the social worker's perception of the change to a more favourable position would also be related to the willingness of the worker to show a readiness to adapt to the new demands. In accordance with Sills and Davies, the suggestion was that it would be the individual's perception of the meanings of these changes as they affected himself and his group which would be uppermost in the mind of the worker.[10] Since these workers had not themselves sought out the changes which were scheduled to take place, a great deal of the onus for redirecting the thinking and feelings of staff lay on the shoulders of those who were responsible for the new service. We would, therefore, expect that the amount of preparation put into change would be reflected in the attitudes which staff adopted to the new social work service. (Coch and French, Lewin). Those who received more by way of favourable information and discussion on the changes were more receptive to the changeover than those who lacked such preparation for the move.

PROBATION OFFICERS: KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHANGEOVER

The Probation Officers in the study stated that they knew very little of the forthcoming changes involved in the move to the new Social Work Service structure. 73.5% of these officers knew almost nothing about their future role in the new Social Work Departments. This lack of information was not, in this instance, due to a general lack of communication within the

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Sills opcit. 184-7
Davies op.cit.p.332
Coch & French op.cit.
K. Lewin 'Group Decision in Social Change', pp.459-73

Probation Department itself, as almost three-quarters of these men felt that the communications within their organisation were good. However, little had been done officially to prepare these officers for future development in the service, which, at this point, were only three months away. Probation Officers were questioned on the amount of information which they felt they had received from official sources in the way of Lectures, Meetings and Discussions. These sources could either be internal to the department orsome other official body connected with the changing service, such as the Home Office Inspectorate, the Social Work Services Group who were acting in an advisory capacity, and those connected with the professions themselves - the training bodies and the social work unions.

The official preparation of the Probation Officers for the change was, from their point of view at least, meagre. Only 15.7% of these men felt that they had received 'some' preparation by way of lecture input on both the meaning and the implications of the change for either the client or themselves. 47.2% stated that they had had very few Lectures, and 36.7% none whatsoever. From talks with the officers who had attended Lectures on the change, the content of the lecture material appeared to bear little significance to the questions which they, as future practitioners of the service, were concerned with being aired, if not resolved. These officers had attended the lectures in order to discover what was going to happen to themselves, and also to meet and talk with other specialist workers who would be sharing their fate under the new service arrangements, but neither

of these hopes were, in fact, met. As far as meetings of staff were concerned; very few such official get-togethers had taken place, either within the department or between different service departments. 78.7% stated that very few meetings had been held on the subject of the change, and a further 5.2% stated that no meetings whatsoever had taken place. A similar pattern was also evident in the amount of discussion which was officially given over by the department to the implications or the policy of the new structure of the service. Most of the discussion held by these officers took place informally and these were by now regarded as fruitless by the officers who were, by that time, tired of speculation in the face of a continuing absence of information from any official source as to what would happen to themselves and the service, both during and after the changeover. The following table combines the views of these officers on the felt amount of information received and the degrees of contact with official sources on the changeover proposals:

TABLE 1 — PROBATION (N = 19)

	Lectures	Meetings	Discussions
A Lot	-	5.2%	5.2%
Very Little	84%	78.7%	84%

The degree of information and contact provided from and with official sources connected with the change, and concerned with the changeover, was infinitesimal, and this, in spite of the quite revolutionary nature of the proposals governing the move from specialist services to one large integrated service. From the viewpoint of the Probation Officers, the support and

guidance which they might legitimately have looked for from those officially responsible for the supervision of the change were not forthcoming.

Attitudes to Change:

In view of the general lack of information to hand, and the significance of the changes which were envisaged in the move to the new Social Work Services structure, it was to be expected that at least some officers would feel threatened in the situation and, indeed, 40% of the Probation staff were, in fact, anxious about the forthcoming changes. The areas of concern for these officers were centred around the uncertainty of their own position under the move; the lack of information available; and a feeling of being ill-equipped to meet the demands of the new service. For 10. 5% of the officers, the objection was to the proposed disruption of a service and role which they had found personally satisfying.

> "Yes, I am a little, not too sure that the new department is a good idea."
>
> "Because I like the work that I am doing at the moment and I am not so sure I would like to work in another branch of the service."
>
> "Because I don't know how I will be affected by the change. I had hopes of being made a senior, but now I don't know what is going to happen."

However, 57.7% of the Probation Officers did not feel anxious about the coming move and, once again, there were several reasons for officers adopting this position. Firstly, there was the fact

that a few officers would be leaving for a training course prior to the change and hoped they would receive training which would equip them for the new service, and also that the teething problems of the service would be solved by the time they were scheduled to return to their sponsoring local authority. The second category contented themselves with the view that the anxieties of fellow officers were unrealistic, and that the position would clarify itself. The third group, and in the minority, actually welcomed the changeover to the new structure and generally saw the change as opening up avenues to resources (financial, etc.) for their clients which were not available in the existing Probation Service.

MULTI-PURPOSE SOCIAL WORKER:

The attitudes of the Probation Officers to the concept of a social worker who would be called upon to take on a variety of specialist functions, or become, in other words, multi-purpose, were mixed. Whilst 31.5% could recognise the attractions of such a person, as many again saw the concept as being impractical or unworkable, 21% saw the necessity to hold on to specialist skills and 10.5% regarded the idea as challenging.

> "Sounds O.K. in theory, but do you really think it can work?"
>
> "Idea sounds all right, but can people do it? I feel you could be a multi-purpose caseworker, but a lot of work lies outside this - court work, procedure, etc. I feel that Social Workers will be

threatened by the new demands placed on them. Social workers may not be able to carry all the information they need about all the jobs."

"It may prove very exacting for the workers in the field with all the regulations governing the various facets."

"Useful thing, but I don't see any social worker being able to cope with all situations, but hope that we could deal with a broader base than at present."

"Not practical as specialisation is necessary."

The general feeling of these officers towards the idea of the multi-purpose social worker was somewhat ambivalent, in that whilst they were able to recognise the possible benefits of the notion, they were more concerned about the difficulties which might beset the individual social worker who was called upon to put such theory into practice.

Status:

Probation Officers were generally unlikely to foresee any important changes in their own personal work status as a result of the changeover, with 78.7% of these officers stating that their work status would remain the same after the move. 15.7%, however, saw their status as probably deteriorating with the move in the new service structure.

As one would expect, in view of the general ambivalence of officers towards the change, with some officers accepting and welcoming the change and others, again, feeling anxious and uncertain about the moves, the attitudes of these officers to

entering the new service and operating in newly-formed teams of mixed specialist workers were divided. 36.7% were in favour of the new department and welcomed the prospect of working with other specialists, as many again did not welcome the idea, whilst 26.2% chose to reserve judgement on the matter until after they had entered the new service. As a group, these officers lacked any real sense of commitment to the changeover proposals. Moreover, they were more likely to view their counterparts in the other specialist fields as being similarly disposed to the change. Only 10.5% of Probation Officers saw these other groups as being enthusiastic about the changeover; 52.5% saw them as simply accepting the situation and 36.7% as being against the new proposals. The change for many, therefore, represented a move which provided little by way of inducements, and yet which threatened to intervere with, if not remove, these inducements which they already had, such as commitment to the notion of the service and the client.

The backbone of the new service was seen by these officers as being the Child Care Group, and as explanation for this view, Probation Officers referred to the Kilbrandon recommendations and the flavour of the new (1968 Scotland) Act, which they saw as child care and family oriented. The actual number of Child Care Officers who would be co-opted into the service would also make Child Care the most strongly represented group in the new department. The Probation Officers, however, also viewed themselves as having an important role to play in the new department structure, with 42% seeing themselves as also forming the backbone of the

service. This latter view was related to the number of Probation staff and the nature of the specialist skills and professionally-trained staff which they would inject into the new service.

Transfer:

Under the terms governing the transfer of Probation staff, the officers of this joint Probation Department had to be split into two different groups, with the result that 68.2% went to the Department A and 21% to Department B, the officers who were already operating in each area at that time being the officers delegated to remain with that same district. Choice was restricted in this respect, and some officers who had opted for Department B were, in fact, obliged to enter Department A under the move. The main reasons given by those officers who had chosen the area to which they would become attached were family and personal ties, or familiarity with the district concerned. In the case of officers attached to Department B, the choice also involved the prospect of advancement and/or a more progressive department in which to operate. These officers had met with both the newly-appointed Directors of Social Work for both Department B and Department A, and had been impressed by the former and generally disappointed by the latter, who could tell them very little about the policy of the new department or his plans for themselves and their service generally. For the majority of the Probation Officers, attached to Department A, therefore, there appeared to be little by way of tangible Inducements available from entering the new service. Instead, there was an attempt by officers to concentrate and retain those aspects of the situation which were

important, i.e. their family commitments, personal ties and their desire to hold on to an area of work with which they were familiar.

In the event of their being dissatisfied in the new social work service, only 26.6% of these officers felt unable to alter the situation. The others would either make suggestions to superiors to improve the situation (31.5%) or would leave the department altogether and go elsewhere.

SUMMARY

The information which the Probation Officers believed had been made available to them on the changeover to the new Social Work Service structure was negligible. Very little officially-backed preparation had been given over to informing these officers on the future possible demands which might be made upon them of the policy of the new departments regarding the sort of service which would be given to the various categories of client. Official lecture input sessions, in the opinion of these officers, had been badly organised by those responsible, and this only served to heighten their general misgivings about the wisdom of the forthcoming move. The general lack of information generated a degree of uncertainty for a number of these officers, with the result that they felt threatened by the prospect of the change. Only 10.5% actually looked forward to the move. Most Probation Officers had mixed feelings about the changeover and the prospect of adopting a more varied social work role and losing something of their specialist skills.

The majority of the officers saw little change taking

place in their work status as a result of their entry into the new department, but were somewhat more pessimistic about that of Probation Officers generally. As such, there was little sense of enthusiasm towards the changeover on the part of this group. The prospect of working alongside other specialist workers was not unwelcomed, although a few had reservations on the matter. Child Care staff were seen as being the group which would dominate the new service, at least in the initial stages, with their own Probation Officers forming the second most important group. Few officers were prepared to accept an unsatisfactory work situation for long, and most were prepared to leave the new organisation, if necessary. The ability of the new service to regard these officers as merely resources in the work situation was, therefore, questionable, since these officers had, in a number of cases, already left unsatisfactory employment to seek greater personal fulfilment in Probation work and would, moreover, continue to seek such satisfaction in their new work situation.

MENTAL HEALTH OFFICERS:

Knowledge of the Changeover Proposals

Over half of the Mental Health Officers believed that they knew at least 'Something' about the nature of the changes which were scheduled to take place within the next few months. 28.5% stated that they knew 'a Lot' about the coming changeover proposals, whilst 42.8% stated that they knew 'Very Little'. The fact that almost half of these officers knew little of the impending change was related to the communication structures of

their respective departments. The officers in both the existing Health and Welfare Departments saw the communications within their departments as being 'Poor'. In the case of the M/Health Officers attached to Department B, however, the newly-appointed Director attempted to overcome this by making some personal contact with his future staff from all the different specialist groups, and in this respect these Mental Health Officers were better informed than their colleagues in the larger department (A).

Officially, there had been very little done to prepare these officers for the changeover in terms of Lecture programmes; Meetings or Discussions on the nature and implications of the changing social work service. 57.1% of these officers had not attended any Lectures; 57.1% had had very little official Discussion on the change; and 42.7%, few or no Meetings. In no instance had these officers, as a group, received 'a Lot' of information on the changeover to the new Social Work Service structure and their own position within it. Only 28.5% of the entire group had received 'a Lot' of information on the move. However, officers attached to Department B were more favourably placed than their colleagues in Department A in terms of meetings with their Director , where a good deal of information was passed on. The ability of any officer to attend such meetings, however, was limited in that the Director tried to involve as many officers as possible as representatives at each meeting from the different specialist groups, and also tried to keep the numbers small. It was rare for someone other than a senior, or someone working on the spot, to be able to attend all of these meetings because of

the problems of travel. There were limits, therefore, on the amount of information available, even through this particular channel. Below is a table on the amount of information each officer believed that he had obtained through the various sources mentioned:

TABLE 1 ALL MENTAL HEALTH OFFICERS (N = 7)

	Lectures	Meetings	Discussions
A Lot	14.2%	28.5%	-
Very Little	57.1%	42.7%	57.1%

What is important from these findings is the generally limited picture or information held by these officers on the nature and implications of the forthcoming changes which were designed to affect their work-role, a role, moreover, which was of some personal significance and attachment to themselves.

Attitude to Change:

The possible implications of the impending change were seen as threatening by 57.1% of the Mental Health Officers, principally (42.8%) because of the uncertainty of the situation confronting them, itself resulting in no small way from the lack of information available. 28.5% also stated that the absence of any senior to represent the interests of the Mental Health Officer, together with the relatively few officers in that field, placed these officers in an insecure position. Alongside this, however, there were some officers who believed that their specialist activity would automatically be protected because of the scarcity of Mental Health Officers in each department, and the continuing need for the work to be done by the new Social Work Departments.

However, only 28.8% actually welcomed the change, and then because of the possible avenues for promotion which the change-over would open up:

"Yes (threatened) because there is no information on how it will affect me personally."

"Slightly threatened because one may feel less equipped to deal with every type of problem. That is, if we are to deal with all sorts of problems."

"Yes, because the Mental Health Department is small and there is no formal structure, e.g. no senior worker, etc."

"No. There will still have to be a Mental Health Service."

Multi-Purpose Social Worker (M.P.S.W.):

The attitudes expressed by these officers to the concept of an M.P.S.W. were, on the whole, critical, with 57.1% stating that the idea was impractical. A further 28.5% felt that such a move would lead to the individual officer losing his specialist skills. Only 14.2% thought that the concept of the M.P.S.W. was a useful one, but none saw it as having anything to offer themselves:

"I suppose it's more efficient to be able to handle the various kinds of problems which come along, rather than to work in a narrow field. My own feelings are that we may find it impossible to devote all the time necessary to deal with every kind ofproblem, so that we may lose something by not being specialist."

"It's not practical."

"With at least six different Acts of Parliament to know, we still need specialisation and professionalism."

"I am not sure that the client will get the proper amount of specialised help to which he is entitled."

"In theory, I think it (M.P.S.W) is good, but am doubtful about it working in practice."

The overall attitude of these officers to the notion of a multi-purpose social worker was a negative one, and the prospect of having to undertake such a position was not welcomed by this particular group.

Status:

The majority of the Mental Health Officers (71.4%) believed that their work status would remain the same after their amalgamation into the new Social Work Departments. 14.2% thought that it might improve and as many thought that it would come down. These officers were less optimistic, however, about the general status of their Mental Health colleagues under the transfer. As far as the majority of these officers was concerned, there appeared to be no tangible inducements offered to them to participate in the new structure. Nonetheless, 85.7% of these officers were prepared to enter the new departments and to work alongside other specialist social workers in small mixed teams, which appeared to be generally envisaged by the organisations concerned in the changeover. Only 57.1% actually welcomed the prospect of working in this way.

If each officer was generally accepting of the new social work service structure, he was less likely to credit his colleagues with a similar view. Only 28.5% of the Mental Health Officers were entering the new set-up with an 'open' mind. The view of these officers, too, of their colleagues in the other specialist fields was one in which the majority of the officers had adopted a resigned acceptance to the change, rather than as something which they actually had sought or pressed to come into being.

Transfer:

75.1% (5) of these officers had been assigned to work in Department A, and 28.5% (2) to Department B. In each case, this simply involved a direct transfer of all the workers, as their employers still remained the same as before. Two main considerations influenced the decisions of these officers in transferring into the new structure and these were family considerations (housing, schools, etc.) (42.8%); and the officers' attachments to the particular area in which they worked (28.5%).

"Decided to stay for family reasons."

"Family responsibilities."

"I think mainly because I enjoy the area which I work in."

"Does not matter where one goes, the changeover will take place."

It is obvious from these remarks, the commitment of the worker was to family and area ties, rather than to any set of inducements offered by the organisation. Asked how they might respond if the

new work situation was not to their liking, 42.8% stated that they would leave or look around for another job (28.5%). 14.2% would make suggestions for improvement. Only 28.5% of these officers felt that they could do little in the situation:

> "If there was a suggestion system in operation, then I would use it; if not, I would ask for a personal interview. In an extreme situation the only thing left would be to leave."
>
> "I'd leave. Look for another job."
>
> "Not a darn thing."

The fact that only 28.5% of these officers would be prepared to put up with an unsatisfactory work situation suggests that these officers generally saw themselves as being able to exercise some influence over their work situation, even if only in the form of a veto. Moreover, this influence would be exercised to attempt to introduce or to preserve a degree of satisfaction in their work situation, and thereby indicate that their work and its meaning did have some importance for these officers.

SUMMARY:

The degree to which these officers had been officially prepared to meet the proposed new changes in the structure of the Social Work Service in Scotland was minimal. The absence of such pertinent information relating to the organisation of the new departments and the worker's own role within the service, generated a degree of anxiety for many. The major concern for the Mental Health Officer was with how his own services would be used and whether this change would involve major changes in

his work-role, particularly that involving his need to take on a broad category of clientele for whom he had not been trained, or had any sense of attraction to. Most of the officers saw no material incentive in the change in terms of their personal work status, or that of their colleagues. They were, however, prepared to enter the new Social Work Departments and to work in small mixed social work teams, although, as a group, they were not altogether enthusiastic about the prospect. These officers also held the opinion that the other specialist social work groups involved in the changeover were resigned to the change, rather than seeking the move for themselves. The image of the new service, as seen by the Mental Health Officers, was of a service staffed and influenced by the Child Care group, partly because of the 'flavour' of the legislation and the numerical strength of the Child Care Officers relative to the other specialist groups involved in the amalgamation.

The change to the new department did not involve any foreseeable change in residence for the worker, and the latter's family and domestic ties weighed heavily in the choice of these officers to remain with the same employing body. In the event of the new structure failing to provide the worker with sources of work satisfaction, the majority of officers contemplated some form of action to attempt to bring the work situation back to a position more favourable to themselves.

WELFARE OFFICERS

Knowledge of the Changeover Proposals:

Welfare Officers attached to Departments A and B differed slightly from one another in their knowledge of the new Social Work Departments and the related proposals concerning their own role as social worker in the new service. Welfare Officers in Department B, for example, were more likely than their Department A colleagues to know at least 'Something' of the changes which were to take place. Group A, on the other hand, were more likely to lack such information - 70% of the Welfare Officers in Department A knew 'Very Little' about the changes which would take place with the reorganisation of the Social Work Services in Scotland. This difference in the amount of information available to these two groups was partly related to the different communication structures of the separate Welfare Departments. The Welfare Officers in group B, for instance, had a new Director of Social Work who attempted to keep staff informed on major developments, although at this stage, less than three months to the official deadline governing the changeover, very little information was, in fact, available for either group. However, it was not so much the actual quantity of information which coneerns us here, but rather how the worker interpreted his amount of information on the change. The following table serves to illustrate how the different Welfare groups saw their degree of information on the transfer:

Knowledge of the Changeover:-

	Group A (N=10)	Group B (N=5)
Knows Something	30%	100%
Knows Very Little	70%	

The official preparation of the Welfare Officers, in terms of Lectures, Meetings and Discussions, was meagre. 73.3% of all Welfare Officers in the study stated that they had received almost no lecture input to prepare them, or to inform them on the impending change in the Social Work Services in Scotland. With respect to meetings with officials on the change, Group B Welfare Officers were more favoured than their counterparts in Group A, but the overall preparation of these officers as a total group was poor, with 60% of the total group having had very little by way of meetings with officials on the changes taking place in the service. With respect to Discussion on the move to a new Social Work Service structure, 60% of Group B as against 30% of Group A had had 'some' discussions. The following table should serve to draw attention to the general scarcity of information made available to these groups as a whole, and also to the more limited information made available to the Welfare group attached to Department A.

TABLE 1

	LECTURES		MEETINGS		DISCUSSIONS	
	Group A %%	Group B %	Group A %	Group B %	Group A %	Group B %
A Lot	-	20	10	60	-	-
Very Little	70	80	70	40	70	40

Attitude to the Change:

66.6% of all of the Welfare Officers felt threatened by the forthcoming change in the Social Work Services and the possible affect of these changes on their own work-role. Most of their anxiety in this area was due to the uncertainty of their position

and the general lack of information available to them (60%). Apart from the uncertainty, 26.6% felt ill-equipped to become involved with a wider variety of Social Work demands which seemed likely under the new set-up, and for 13.3% there was the concern of losing existing skills and an area of work to which they felt suited.

> "Of course, because all change is threatening, I fear that I may be supervised, controlled, directed, dissected, disintegrated, depersonalised, and, naturally, I shake in my shoes. I have always been my own boss."
>
> "Yes, because of the lack of knowledge of the day-to-day running of the area offices and the principles to be applied."
>
> "I feel rather anxious, as I do not know what the role of the trainee will be in the coming structure."
>
> "Anxious, simply a fear of the unknown. Also, the Act (1968 Scotland) is so ambitious that I feel the change will produce chaos for several years until personnel are trained accordingly."
>
> "A little anxious because I do not really know what is going to happen. I prefer to work with old people, am not keen to do family casework, and do not want a mixed caseload. I am in favour of specialisation."

The general feeling of these officers to the coming change was one of apprehension, although not all of the officers shared the same degree of alarm; indeed, 20% were enthusiastic about the new service.

Multi-Purpose Social Worker (M.P.S.W.)

The Welfare Officers had mixed views about the concept of a social worker taking on a variety of cases from the different specialisms, or becoming multi-purpose. Whilst 40% of these officers felt that the idea had much to recommend it, or that it was 'good in theory' (26.6%), 60% of the Welfare Group were of the opinion that specialisation would still be required in the new Social Work Departments and that the concept of the M.P.S.W. was impractical. (26.6%).

> "I see them (M.P.S.W.) in a similar light as a G.P., absolutely necessary, but there will always be a need for someone to specialise. I am in favour of more multi-purpose social workers, but wouldn't care to see all social workers in the same class."
>
> "I feel that in cases of problem families it is a good idea to have only one social worker instead of a few, but at the same time I feel that people will always have their own particular fields of work."
>
> "I feel that this is a good idea, but it may take some time to materialise. There should always be some specialists."
>
> 'Multi-purpose or multi-confused? Feel that in theory it is sensible, but in practice it may be chaotic."

"(Multi-purpose). I would prefer not to be one."
The attitudes of these officers to the concept of the M.P.W.S. was that whilst they could see the possible attractions ofsuch a person, they could likewise see the possible damage done to the service of the client were specialists to cease to exist and,with them,their specialist skills and knowledge. These officers would have preferred to see established a two-tier system where the M.P.S.W. would be a sort of auxiliary social worker. In any event, the M.P.S.W. could not be expected to be as proficient as the specialist working in a narrower field. At least half of the group were uncertain of their own ability to undertake, or to enjoy, a broader social work role.

Status:

The changing structure of the Social Work Services would not bring any significant change in status to the individual worker, although they were generally more hopeful about the status of their colleagues as a group, with 33.3% of the Welfare Officers seeing the general status of their colleagues rising with the amalgamation of the different services. These officers, therefore, saw some material advantages in the amalgamation, but certainly not great enough to offset the uncertainties which they felt as a group towards the future demands which might likewise be made on them in the new Social Work Departments.

Every Welfare Officer was prepared to enter the new service and work alongside other specialist social workers in small mixed area teams. Moreover, the majority of these officers (93.3%) welcomed the opportunity to do so. However, each officer

was not so certain about the willingness of their fellow Welfare colleagues to enter the new structure with a similar open mind. Indeed, 46.6% were uncertain about how their colleagues would respond. On the other hand, these officers were much more optimistic about the attitudes of the other specialist social workers to the change. Only 13.3% of the Welfare Officers saw these other groups as being antagonistic towards the changeover. As a group, the Welfare Officers were more likely to see the other specialist workers as being more in favour of the changes than their own Welfare colleagues. This may,in part, be due to their own relatively young and less experienced staff, and the assumption that a higher degree of expertise and training existed among the other categories of social workers.

The mainstay of the new departments, as seen by the Welfare group, was the Child Care group (60%) and, to a lesser degree, the Probation group (20%). Only 13.3% saw their own specialist group - Welfare - as being an important force in the new set-up. No officer mentioned the Mental Health as being in any way influential in the new Social Work Departments. The justification for this belief on the part of the Welfare Officers was generally due to the nature of the legislation governing the 1968 (Scotland) Act, which they saw as Child and Family-centred. These officers were also aware of the numerical strength of the Children's Departments and the number of staff which these Departments would inject into the new structure. For the same reason, Probation was seen by some as an important source of influence and manpower under the changeover to the new Social Work Service.

Transfer:

66.6% of the Welfare Officers saw themselves as being located in the Department A and 33.3% in Department B. In each case the transfer involved officers who were already employed by that local authority. The motivation of these officers to remain with the same employing body was related to their attachment to the geographical area in which they operated and/or because of their family ties and responsibilities. Only 13.3% of the officers listed the new structure as offering any incentive of its own to enter the new set-up and these were Group B officers:

"I like the area and have good relationships with the local departments and bodies."

"Because I have a house in the area."

"Because I have my friends in the city, not for any particular reasons concerning my employment."

"Was there a choice?"

"Better set-up and personal knowledge of the people already."

The tone of the remarks indicated that the attraction of the new employment lay in that it would not involve a disruption of the officers' personal relationship of family commitments, rather than because the new organisation offered any real opportunities and attractions for the worker. In the event of their becoming dissatisfied with the new work situation and their role in the new departments, 66.6% stated that they would be prepared to leave the service and/or otherwise feed back their sense of grievance to the organisation (33.3%). 33.3% of the Welfare Officers, however, believed that they could do 'nothing' in that situation.

"Look for alternative employment, although I would probably attempt to protest, if I felt a change might be considered."

"After giving the new set-up a try, and if I could not, or did not want to, fit into it, I would see if any changes could be made. If not, I would probably look elsewhere for a job."

"Change my employer, or seek another job outside social work."

"I would agitate through staff meetings or whatever medium is made available."

"Nothing."

Only one-third of these officers were prepared to operate in a work situation from which they derived no personal satisfaction. The majority were prepared to exercise their final sanction and leave if they could not find a degree of satisfaction from their work. The majority of these officers did not, therefore, regard themselves simply as a resource to be used without regard by the employing body.

SUMMARY

The Welfare Officers, in both Departments A and B, differed from one another to the extent to which they were generally aware of, or had information on, the nature of the forthcoming changes in the service. More officers attached to Department B believed that they knew at least 'Something' about the changeover. This information had typically come from meetings held with the newly-appointed Director of Social Work for their area, but as a group the officers shared with their colleagues in Department A a general lack of any official preparation for the move.

A good deal of anxiety existed among these workers because of the significance for them of the changeover, and this anxiety was a result of the lack of information and the consequent uncertainty which arose because of this. They regarded the notion of the Multi-Purpose Social Worker as theoretically sound, but only for the more routine type of cases. For the majority (60%), specialists would still be required in the

interests of both the client and the workers themselves.

As individuals they could see no real rise in personal status arising out of the transfer into the new Social Work structure, but were more inclined to see Welfare Officers as a body obtaining some general raise in status from the transfer.

The prospect of working alongside other specialist workers was welcomed by almost all Welfare Officers in the study, but these officers were less certain of the reaction of their Welfare colleagues to such a move. On the other hand, they were more likely to see other specialist groups as being generally more favourably disposed to the change. They also rated these other specialists as being more influential than their own group in the new Social Work Department, with the Child Care group being the most influential group of all.

Their decision to enter the new set-up was more the result of a reluctance to break up existing commitments and the relationships attached to the area in which they operated, than to any sense of identification to either specialist clients (the elderly and the handicapped) or to the new service itself. The majority of officers, however, stated that they would continue to seek satisfaction from their new work situation and that in the event of their inability to achieve this, they would resort to some form of action to bring about a more favourable situation in their work.

CHILD CARE OFFICERS:

Knowledge of Changeover Proposals

Whilst 59.6% of all Child Care Officers in the study had at least 'some' knowledge of the nature of the changeover proposals for the new service structure, this information was

likely to be held by officers from Group B as opposed to Group A Child Care staff. 50% of the staff in Group A, as against only 18.75% of the Child Care Officers in Group B, stated that they were generally ignorant of the changes which were to take place within the new service.

TABLE 1 CHILD CARE OFFICERS

	Group A (N=36)	Group B (N=16)
Knows Something	50%	81.25%
Knows Nothing	50%	18.75%

To a large extent, this difference in the amount of information which was held by the Child Care staff in the two departments was the result of the efforts of the newly-appointed Director for Department B, who had personally made an effort to keep his staff abreast of developments connected with the change. The Director for Department A, on the other hand, had failed completely to relay information to his staff in the same way, and staff in that department had to come by their information through a variety of personal strategies. The result of this was the fact that in Group A, information tended to be piecemeal and unevenly distributed among the Social Work staff.

Child Care staff, like their specialist colleagues in the other branches of the service, could possibly have come by their information on the changes in a number of ways, the more important official means of informing staff being through the medium of official Lectures, Meetings and Discussions with those responsible for supervising the changes. However, the overall

amount of information held by all of the Child Care officers through these official sources was regarded by the staff as negligible. The paucity of information being best assessed by a glance at Table 11, which lists the percentage of information derived from any one source for all the Child Care Officers in both Groups A and B:

TABLE II ALL CHILD CARE OFFICERS

	Lectures	Meetings	Discussions
A Lot	5.7%	11.5%	11.5%
Some	13.4%	15.4%	23.1%
Very Little	80.7%	71.1%	63.4%

As a group, the Child Care Officers received very little information from any of the aforementioned official sources. Moreover, this absence of official preparation of staff must be viewed against the magnitude of the change which was to take place. The greatest change in the profession for 20 years, and one which was designed to radically alter the work and the roles of those who manned the service. The significance and the implications of the changeover for staff gave the scarcity of information to social workers in the field a sinister content for social workers who were deprived of this preparation. However, not all of the Child Care Officers were placed in the same position with respect to the amount of information held on the change. Some leadership had been shown by the Director of Department B in this matter as can be seen from comparing both

Group B and Group A on the amount of official Meetings and Discussions which they had attended on the changeover to the new service:

TABLE III — MEETINGS

	Group B (N=16)	GROUP A (N=36).
Some	56.25%	13.8%
Very Little	43.75%	83.3%

TABLE IV — DISCUSSIONS

	Group B (N=16)	Group A (N=36)
A Lot	31.25%	2.75%
Some	31.25%	19.05%
Very Little	37.05%	75.00%

Group B staff, therefore, were somewhat better informed than their colleagues in Group A on matters affecting their work and workrole under the changeover. The difference between the two Child Care Groups was mainly attributable to the different kinds of leadership style adopted by the two Directors of the new departments.

Attitude to the Change:

A scarcity of information available to officers, the manner in which the changeover would take place and its effect on themselves could have been expected to have generated a degree of anxiety for those who had been caught up in the change and, indeed, such was to be the case. Approximately one half of all Child Care Officers in the study admitted to feeling threatened by the change to the new service structure. The greatest single cause

for this anxiety as seen by the social workers themselves, was the general lack of information and the uncertainty of their own personal position under the change. The lack of information was seen as all the more anxiety-provoking, given the then short period before the official dateline for the move into the new departments. The following statements should serve to express more clearly how the situation had affected the Child Care Officer:

"Threatened? Yes. Because everyone is so much in the dark. We do not know what our functions are to be, what sort of work, etc. The fact that the Director is not very much social work oriented, and his lack of communication with us. All too vague. Feeling as if we're being treated as nonentities."

"Yes. Mainly because there has been little or no discussion as to how the change will affect us. At present it is not known how administratively we, as a Children's Department, are going to operate. I feel very unhappy about the choice of Director. Not on personal grounds, but on his lack of social work training.

The fact that he chooses to go on holiday six weeks before the change is to be implemented disturbs me. He has never really been in the Children's Department long enough to realise what our work is. Does he really care about social work and, in particular, Child Care?"

"

"Yes, because I have not, as an individual or as a C.C.O., been kept informed of the radical administrative and operational changes which are imminent."

"Yes, because I know very little about what is going to happen and how I will be affected."

"I feel that not knowing anything at all about what changes there will be is a big reason for my being apprehensive. I feel that it is scandalous that such revolutionary changes are to be implemented without present staff, many of whom have served the corporation for a number of years, being involved in discussions, or at least informed as to what is proposed."

"Yes. I feel that the present, not good, situation might deteriorate in great confusion and that the future interchangeability of social workers in the various fields may lead to a lowering of standards and a poorer service to the client."

The above statements indicate that much of the Child Care Officers' anxiety in the situation had come about because of the uncertainty of what the future held for themselves and their sense of being shut off from sources of information which would enlighten their position. If lack of knowledge or information on the changeover was a critical factor in these officers' sense of insecurity in the face of the changing work situation, rather than a more general fear of change itself, we would expect some difference to emerge in the anxiety levels of Groups A and B Child Care Officers, since both groups had been exposed to different amounts of information and preparation. In fact, there was a significant difference in the sense of feeling

threatened for the different groups. Only 18.75% of Child Care Officers in Group B, as against 63.8% in Group A, felt threatened and anxious by the change, a difference which was statistically significant at beyond the .01 level.

Multi-Purpose Social Workers (M.P.S.W.)

Taking the Child Care Officers as a total group, these officers were most likely to see the change to the generic role as being generally a 'good idea'. 50% of the Child Care Officers favoured the move to the new role. The attraction of the move lay in the prospect of the change reducing the amount of overlap which existed among the different services. This view of the duplication of social workers' efforts on behalf of the same client or family had been variously cited as one reason for the change. However, there was a decided dearth of empirical evidence to show that such duplication did, in fact, exist. Nevertheless, the attraction of the M.P.S.W. role for those who favoured the new service lay in the fact that such hypothesised duplication would, in fact, be removed.

However, in spite of this attraction of the new social work role, there were a number of difficulties which other Child Care staff saw as limiting the establishment of the generic type social worker. Because of these various constraints, 40.4% of the Child Care Officers viewed the M.P.S.W. role as impractical. As a group, therefore, there existed a degree of ambivalence amongst these officers as to the contribution which such a generic role might make to the service, and their own individual ability to perform such a role in the new department.

Listed below are samples of the variety of opinions held by staff of the Multi-purpose Social Work concept and its implications for themselves:

"I'm very much in sympathy with the idea. My concept of social work."

"I feel that all social workers should be working from the same fundamental basis. I feel multi-purpose social workers should prevent the situation where several workers are all involved with the same family."

"All right, as long as social workers are not attempting to do numerous things which they have no knowledge about. I feel that work with families must involve multi-purpose work."

"Ideally it sounds excellent. Until I know more of the new set-up, I doubt my own professional competence in tackling the job of a multi-purpose social worker."

"Good idea in theory, but I, personally, would rather specialise."

"If such a person were achievable by training, he would be ideal. However, social workers' personalities and characters could well prevent them from being able to take on all the varieties of cases."

The confidence of those who favoured the change lay in the belief that social workers all worked from a similar base and with similar skills. However, the difficulties raised by those who were more sceptical or otherwise opposed to the new concept stressed the possible lack of specialist knowledge and/or com-

mitment to other types of tasks on the part of the social worker which would render her less suited for the work of helping particular categories of clients.

Status:

Apart from the move to the new department structure affecting the specialist role of the social workers who were involved in the changeover, the status of these officers was similarly altered by the move. The new transfer arrangements which governed the movement of staff could only guarantee the financial position of individuals and groups, but could not specify the status which officers could expect to hold in the new service. For the majority of Child Care Officers, the lack of clarity on their personal status position did not appear to give rise to any particular problem or concern. Most Child Care Officers saw their own personal work status remaining unaltered by the changeover. These officers, however, were somewhat more optimistic about the general improvement which would take place for the status of the Child Care workers as a group. As a group, these officers were most likely to see benefits deriving out of their entry into the new departments. 88.4% of all of the Child Care Officers were in favour of the new set-up and none opposed the move to the new service. As a group, these officers were also 100% behind the integration of social work staff and were quite prepared to operate alongside the staff from other specialist agencies in the new departments. Indeed, 88.4% of these officers actually welcomed the opportunity to integrate with other staff in this way.

Moreover, the opinion of the Child Care group was that their own colleagues in the Child Care Service were generally in favour of the move (67.7%), with only 15.4% of the officers holding the view that their fellow Child Care colleagues were resistant to the move. However, once again there was some difference between the two groups of Child Care staff with Group B being more likely to see their Child Care colleagues as welcoming the change to integration.

Child Care staff in Groups A and B also differed from one another in terms of how they perceived the attitudes of their counterparts in the other specialisms to the change and to integration. 68.75% of the Child Care Officers in Group B saw their social work colleagues from the other specialisms as being 'enthusiastic' about the forthcoming changes, as against 30.5% of the officers of Group A who held a similar view. Group A Child Care Officers were also more likely to view their own Child Care colleagues as prejudiced against the move. The pattern for both groups of Child Care staff is illustrated in Table V.

TABLE V : Expected Attitudes of other Specialisms to the Changeover:-

	GROUP A (N=36)	GROUP B (N=16)
Enthusiastic	30.5%	68.75%
Accept Situation	30.5%	31.25%
Anti-Change	22.00%	-

As a group, Child Care Officers were generally optimistic about the forthcoming changeover and their own status position within the department, and were also favourably disposed in their attitudes to working in integrated teams of social workers. However, this sense of optimism for the new service was greater among the Child Care Officers in Group B than for their colleagues in Group A. This would, of course, appear to be in keeping with the fact that the Group B officers were not only generally better informed on the changes, but also less threatened by the changeover situation than their colleagues in Group A.

The general optimism of the Child Care group as a whole was partially attributable to the fact that these officers saw themselves as forming the mainstay, or backbone, of the new social work departments. Moreover, they reserved very little influence for the other specialist groups who were also involved in the move. Again, it was the Child Care Officers in Group B who were most optimistic in this respect, with 81.55% of these officers seeing themselves as the most influential specialist group in the new service. Their justification for this belief could be traced back to the legislation governing the changeover of the service, which almost all officers, regardless of specialism, saw as essentially Child Care oriented. There was also the obvious fact that the Child Care group were numerically the strongest group in the Local Authority Welfare Services and, as such, this strength would carry over into the new department.

Transfer:

Under the existing transfer arrangements, almost all of the officers of the existing Children's Departments planned to remain with their existing employing local authority. This meant that 30.7% of all of the Child Care staff remained with Department B and 67.3% stayed with Department A. The reasons given by these social workers for remaining with the same employing body were two-fold. The first related to the worker's family and personal ties (40.4%) and the officer's attachment to a particular geographical area (40.4%). 14.4% of Child Care staff stated that they had had no option other than to remain with the employing body and enter the new service. The actual statements of these officers should help illustrate something of the variety of factors which were operating in the situation at the time:

"My family is located here."

"Husband and house in the area."

"Personal reasons: getting married."

"Because I love the area and I propose to stay here for a bit longer. A lot of roots socially."

"I know the area well now, this is an advantage. Some feeling of loyalty to colleagues and the community. Personal ties in the area, but no wish to work there."

"Because I am integrated into the community in which I live, and because the majority of my colleagues are staying on and it is likely that I shall be working with at least some of them."

"I feel that there is so much uncertainty at present about every set-up, I would rather remain here until things are clarified. Also, I enjoy work with my present colleagues and clients."

Many of these officers put forward as reasons for remaining with their existing employing authority their unwillingness to disrupt personal life and interests, or because of their attachment to a particular area in which they operated. The second factor for a further 19.2% was the question of their secondment for training, which involved a contract to return to the employing authority once the officer nad completed her training. Only for a minority of the social workers did the department itself appear as an inducement to remain where they were.

In the event of possible dissatisfaction with the new set-up and their own position within the department, 57.7% of all Child Care Officers stated that they would leave the organisation. Other officers would convey a sense of grievance back to their employing body. Only 28.8% of the Child Care Officers would be content to do nothing about their dissatisfaction in the situation:

"Depends on how many others felt like this. Pressure group? Otherwise, leave."

"Try to change it for the better and if this fails, leave my job."

"Leave."

"Me? Could? Probably nothing being decidedly non-militant and inactive."

"Would? opt out probably, if it was really unbearable."

"Damn it! Nothing."

SUMMARY:

The Child Care Officers in Groups A and B showed a marked difference in the extent to which each group felt they had information on the nature of the changeover propsals, with the Group B workers being much more the favoured group. This difference was related to the very different leadership styles adopted by the two Directors of the new Departments. Because of the amount of information made available to Group B officers, they felt less overwhelmed by the change than their colleages in the other group. As far as the Child Care staff generally were concerned, the concept of the multi-purpose social worker generated mixed feelings, with many officers being receptive to the idea in principle, but concerned by the means which such a role was to be achieved. Even the more committed social workers acknowledged the necessity for specialist social work staff to receive guidance and support in the taking up of the new generic role. A sizeable number of the Child Care staff (40%) also hoped for the retention of their specialist component in the new service and that the generic role would be of only a limited nature.

Whilst somewhat divided on the generic role of the social worker in the new service, the Child Care group were, nevertheless, overwhelmingly in favour of the new service, and the vast majority of the Child Care staff welcomed the idea of working alongside other specialist workers in small, mixed area teams.

Individual officers, however, were less certain about the willingness of their own specialist colleagues and social workers in the other specialisms to enter the situation with a similarly favourable outlook, but this pessimism was more typical of the Group A Child Care officer than her counterpart in Group B.

The Child Care staff saw themselves as forming the backbone of the new Social Work Departments, and this doubtless contributed something to their general sense of optimism about the changeover. Moreover, for the vast majority of these officers, the transfer was a paper transfer, since theofficer already worked for her future employer in the new service. The major reasons given for entering the new service and remaining with the same authority was to protect family and personal interests of the work, or because of an attachment to a particular geographical area, rather than any sense of commitment or attraction to the new organisation itself.

As a group these Child Care Officers were not generally prepared to remain in a job where work satisfaction was low. The organisation, therefore, could not safely regard these officers simply as resources to be disposed of as and how the department thought necessary. These officers had their own needs in the situation and these would continue to be present in the new work situation. Moreover, as a group, these social workers were looking for satisfactory experiences within the work situation. They had, in the past, left jobs in order to find such satisfaction in their work and could reasonably be expected to exercise that same vetoing power, should their personal

interests fail to be realised or alternative interests not be provided by the new departments for their staff.

THE FOUR GROUPS:

The four specialist groups, taken together, show a degree of similarity in terms of the general ignorance as to the nature of the changes taking place in the structure of the existing services and the proposals for the new service structure. The official sources of information, i.e. the Social Work Services Group, the Social Work Committees and the Directors themselves had been generally unforthcoming on the change, or else such information was still not available at that time - July/August 1969 - three months prior to the changeover dateline. What was evident, however, was that such information currently to hand had been mismanaged at times by those who were officially responsible for its transmission to field work staff. If the Day Release courses which had been set up for the various specialist social workers involved in the change could be taken as an example, it became obvious that whilst some information was available, and whilst there was also a general concern to pass this on to the field staff, the actual management of the courses left much to be desired, at least when seen from the viewpoint of those who attended the lecture meetings. The case of the joint Probation Officers should serve to illustrate how one group saw the course and the images which that experience provided these Probation Officers of the new service and the commitment of their social work colleagues to the change. The following account of the development of the Day Release course was provided by a top

member of the Probation Staff who was responsible for the joint area. The focus of the account was on the management of the course and the objectives, and not the course material or content:

The Day Release courses had been set up by the Social Work Services Group and mounted by two training bodies in the district - a University and a College Social Work Department. The object of these meetings was to provide a meeting-point for the various specialist groups involved in the changeover, to express their views and problems, and generally get to know one another, quite apart from the formal lecture input sessions of the course. The general expectation that the various specialist staff would all attend these courses, however, had not been met - particularly by Social Work staff operating in the larger area. The Probation Department, for its part, had 'got off the ground as quickly as possible and got consent from the Probation Committee' for the release of staff to attend these meetings. Once on the course, however, it became apparent to the Probation group that they were the only area social workers on those particular courses. The Probation senior had got into contact with the Head of the Children's Department for that area, who was also responsible for the largest single contingent of officers who were scheduled to enter the new service, and enquired why the Child Care staff had failed to attend the lecture course, together with the Probation staff. The explanation given at the time was that the Child Care staff were 'too busy'. This comment had irritated the Probation staff, who also saw themselves as 'busy'

but had nevertheless made alternative arrangements in order to make themselves available for the courses. The official for the Children's Department stated that all Child Care staff would, however, attend the next series of lectures. However, as Probation Officers were assigned to the first series of lectures, there would be no possibility of contact between the Probation and Child Care groups prior to the change, and such surely had been the objective of the exercise! The Probation senior member of staff attributed the fault jointly between the Children's Officer for not assigning staff to the course, and to the Social Work Services Group who had been responsible for the management of the course, and who had failed to see the imbalance in terms of the categories and numbers of officers attending the courses. The Probation group had felt that some Probation Officers should have been taken off the first course and replaced by representatives from Child Care and Welfare, "But, of course, this hasn't happened. Typical. The Department (S.W.S.G.) never faces an issue."

Acting for the Probation staff, the Probation senior had telephoned the administrator responsible for the S.W.S.G. course to point out the imbalance of staff attending the courses. "It hadn't even occurred to them", the senior had said. The S.W.S.G. advisor had informed the senior that the matter was outwith the Department's control, and that it was up to the individual social work agencies to second people to the courses. The matter was one to be taken up by those concerned with those responsible at the local level. As far as that senior Probation Officer was

concerned and, indeed, the majority of the Probation staff in that department, the Day Release courses had lost their meaning or value. "The proposed intermingling of the different social workers is obviously falling down already." The Probation staff had regarded these courses essentially as "get-togethers", as meeting points rather than strictly learning situations. These officers were, therefore, annoyed by the lack of support given to the courses by the other specialist staff in the area and interpreted this lack of support as evidence of those groups' unwillingness to enter into the new service. As a piece of public relations work for the social work staff, these courses had failed miserably from the point of view of the Probation group. Instead, they had highlighted for the Probation staff what appeared to them to be a degree of indifference and resistance at all levels as to the development and outcome of the new service.- a view which made the Probation Officers' own position and entry uncertain.

With respect to both Meetings and Discussions with officials who were responsible for the changeover; two sets of factors accounted for the scarcity of information to hand. The first was the fact that the Directors of the new Social Work Departments had only been in post two months, so that the structure of the new departments was still in the process of formulation. The second set of factors was the Directors' leadership style. Because of the very narrow gap between the appointment of the Directors (June/July 1969) and the date for the change to the new service [November 1969], the staff were

naturally concerned and impatient to learn of developments regarding themselves and looked first to their Director for that information. As can be seen from the foregoing data on the individual specialist groups, the two Directors appointed to Departments A and B respectively chose to manage what information as was to hand in quite completely different ways. The Director responsible for Department B chose to keep his field staff at all levels informed on developments affecting themselves, as the information came to hand. The Director of Department A, on the other hand, did not transmit, or at least was not credited by his staff with passing on, relevant information on the change. The result was that for Group B, the change, whilst uncertain, had nevertheless been presented to the staff as a very real challenge; whereas for the social workers in Group A, the change was filled both with uncertainty and also with the view that any stimulus for development would have to come from within the field staff themselves, rather than through the efforts of their Director. If all the specialist social workers attached to the new Social Work Department B were compared with the staff attached to Department A in terms of the amount or scarcity of information held by staff resulting from their official Meetings and Discussions with those responsible for the management of the changeover, the result would indicate that Department B social workers were far and away the more knowledgeable group. Indeed, the difference in the response of the two groups is significant beyond .001 level.

ALL SOCIAL WORKERS : MEETINGS

	Dept. B (N=28)	Dept. A (N = 65)
A Lot	7	3
Some	10	5
Very Little	11	54

$X^2 = 33.79$;* df=2 ; $p < .001$.

ALL SOCIAL WORKERS : DISCUSSIONS

	Dept. B	Dept. A
A Lot	6	1
Some	12	8
Very Little	10	52

$X^2 = 23.90$ df=2; $p < .001$.

The problem of uncertainty and the general absence of information, therefore, was one which beset the Department A social work group rather more than their colleagues in Department B.

One of the major issues confronting all specialist groups involved in the changeover was the probable impact which the move would have on the social worker's specialist role and her ability to retain that specialist interest. Since the hypothesis of the study was that it was the specialist nature of the work which had initially either acted to attract or to repel staff from entering a particular field of social work, we would expect that social workers confronted with the prospect of leaving their own specialist role and adopting a role which included other specialist-type activities and responsibilities, would be met

*Yates' correction applied throughout.

with resistance from the officers concerned. Comparing all groups on their attitudes to the move to the multi-purpose social work role, we find that there was, in fact, a marked degree of ambivalance to accepting this new reformulation of their contribution to the service. Of the group, the Mental Health and Probation Officers appeared the most resistant to the idea, whilst Child Care Officers were relatively more favourable to the proposed changes. However, no more than between 40% to 50% of any group saw any benefits to be derived from the multi-purpose role, and as many more officers in each group were quick to foresee problems arising out of the implementation of such a concept bysocial workers in the new Social Work Departments.

Why, given this general ambivalence of social workers to the idea of the new-type social worker, were these specialist social workers prepared to enter the new service, where such a role would doubtless be demanded of them? Two possible reasons existed for the decision by the majority of social work staff to enter the new service. The first lay in the relative absence of alternatives to joining the new departments. All of the specialist social workers were largely employed directly or indirectly by the local authority, which was then, and is still today, the largest single employer for professional social work services in the country. Since all the local authority services and personnel were involved in the new changeover proposals, in Scotland the only other socialwork alternative was the voluntary social work agency. Typically, however, this

meant a drop in salary and the worker would still be largely divorced from his own specialist clientele, since the latter would be incorporated into the new service departments of the local authority. A move South to England or Wales would only stave off the integration of a number of specialist services, since there, too, integration under the Seebohm proposals was due to take place early in the 1970's. Only in Probation did the prospect of continued specialism remain in England and Wales, but presumably with a narrower area of work and possibly a less attractive career structure. Also, the future concerning even that service was an unknown at that time. There was also the stated fact that social workers had ties with their immediate neighbourhood area and wished to retain these connections.

A second set of factors influencing the workers' decision to stay with the new service were the various ideological appeals which had become a dominant force in social work in the mid-sixties, and which had assisted in no small way in the formulation of the 1968 Act. The Act was imbued with the notion of the desirability of the united Social Work profession and the benefits which such reorganisation would entail. The previous specialisms were regarded as having created division within the profession. Division of interests and even competition among the various specialist bodies. A united work group would not only remove such divisions, but would also serve to strengthen the professional body as a whole. Evidence in support of such a contention was to be found in the growth of generic-based

social work training programme in the 1960's and with that the embryo of the multi-purpose social worker. The idea of the generic social worker was explicitly laid out in the middle and late sixties in a number of social work articles and discussion on social work practice. The essence of these communications were to the effect that social workers, regardless of specialism, were, in fact, similar, in as much as they each operated with the same basic skill and on the same premise regarding the dignity and rights of man. Moreover, it was argued that specialisms simply reflected labels for administrative convenience which, by setting boundaries to the activity, limited the help which could be given to the client. Given that the social worker's concern was for the client, it was in everyone's interest that these artificial barriers be removed. The following are statements drawn from articles written in the mid- and late-sixties, each of which illustrates a view which permeated a great deal of the thinking of those who sought to influence the rank and file:

> "The challenge of social workers in the next generation is, as Professor Donnison reminded us at the late A.G.M., to see ourselves in new roles, to be involved more and more with other members of the community and to be willing to experiment with new ways of meeting needs ofindividuals and groups"[13]
>
> "All members of the A.S.W. will be greatly heartened at the support that has been given to the idea of one professional* organisation....(but) we cannot stand still and

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13 The A.S.W. News, July 1967. Case Conference Vol.14, 1967/8

* See Appendix B.

our future pattern of organisation should provide all social workers with greater opportunities for a richer experience by greater contact with others doing different kinds of work and a greater change of serving their clients more effectively."[14]

"Among the many complex issues to be tackled, first and foremost is the conflict of loyalties on the one hand professional commitment, on the other hand commitment to the organisation. There are no easy solutions, but there can be little doubt that membership of a unified association carries with it the advantages, not only of identification with a common set of professional values, but also the support and independent judgment in times of cris.s" [15]

"I am persuaded that a unified body of social workers has a very real contribution to make, not only to the development of the profession, but also - and equally important - to the new institutional framework which the White Paper has made possible." Spencer 1968.

"Summing up for the Government in the third reading on July 1968, Mr Bruce Millan, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, indicated that he hoped that short-term difficulties would not obscure the long-term advantages which would come from the incorporation of the Probation Service in the Social Work Departments. 'From the long-term point of view', he said, 'I think that this is the right solution and the fact that it is will be

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14 op.cit. A.S.W., 1968
15 J. Spencer. Case Conference. opcit. 1968, pp.6-7

increasingly recognised, I am sure, by the Probation Officers themselves as the new departments come into operation and begin to make an impact on the problems with which they have to deal.'" [16]

These statements, and others in a similar vein, indicate something of the values which were being generated at that time in an attempt to mould the thinking of those social workers involved in the new changeover proposals. There is contained in these statements the notion not only of the desirability of the changes, but even of the urgency of the change. Underpinning these statements goes the notion of the transferability of socialwork skills, since without that notion, the idea of the multi-purpose social worker, and perhaps the concept of the change itself, could not have been easily contemplated. The ideology confronting the specialist workers said, in effect, 'Go on. You can do it', and, indeed, you must do it for the sake of the client and the profession as a whole. The basic skills involved were essentially casework skills, and since all the specialist groups operated on the same skill, the problems of change were either imaginary or exaggerated. The feeling was created that if the social worker cared anything for her clients or about the philosophy of social work, then the new move should be supported. Given this ideological appeal and the lack of real alternatives to the transfer to the new service, it became apparent that these social workers had, in fact, little leeway in which to reach a decision regarding whether or not they

16 - In Parliament. Probation. Vol.14, 1968, p.91.

would take a chance on the new departments. For the social worker to have attempted to hold onto his or her own specialism was to become a somewhat limited kind of social worker, even where such a possibility existed. The change for many, therefore, was inevitable and, moreover, was seen by the staff as such.

In spite of the almost obligatory nature of the changes, Probation staff were overall least favourable to the move. All groups, however, appeared to have accepted the situation for what it was, and mostsocial workers actually looked forward at that time to working alongside the other specialist workers and gaining wider professional experience. However, it was again the Probation staff in Department A area, and also the Mental Health staff from that area who were least optimistic about the benefits of the move. As a group, however, the Group A social workers had receivedmuch less information concerning the change than their colleagues in Department B.

Sills had suggested that organisations whose staff held an ideology which was of greater significance than the immediate objectives of the organisation were in a more favoured position when it came to a matter of reformulating their goals. In the case of these specialist social workers, they could all be seen as engaging in social work and to have a more general desire to 'help people'. This, in fact, was to be the binding force utilised by those moving for the change; indeed their new title Social Worker reflected this. By concentrating on the core similarities, the aim was to reduce the sense of

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D.L. Sills. op.cit.

divisions within the groups. However, for these officers there was little sense of having completed their original task on behalf of their specialist clientele and the sense of work undone could well prove the main factor in resisting the changeover proposals.

Blau, for his part, had suggested that the sense of competence of the worker and the security of his work position was a factor which favoured change in reformist-type agencies where the original goal had been satisfied. Whilst these social workers had generally secure jobs and relationships with colleagues and belonged to reformist-type organisations, their commitment to the change was far from uniform. Nor were those who were least competent the most reluctant to pursue the change. A comparison of competent and less competent staff indicated that the latter were only slightly more threatened by the change than their more competent colleagues.
The more important matter appeared to be the worker's commitment to the original specialism and the extent to which he or she possessed information which would make them more disposed to the changeover. In terms of the information available, it was the social workers in Department B who were more knowledgable of the change and who were least resistant to it. However, their specialist type tasks had not been accomplished and there remained the prospect of possible loss of status and other personal inducements which might result from the move, so that in a number of respects these social workers only partially met with the criterion of Blau's successful adaptors to organisational change - the most important single obstacle to

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P. Blau (B). op.cit.

to their acceptance of the move was their continued commitment to their then existing specialism.

The transfer of these workers into the new service had come about not through personal choice, but because of an absence of real alternatives in the situation, and also because of the belief held by a large number of officers from each discipline that the necessity for specialisation would continue long after the change. Because of these views, the situation was one in which social workers were concerned primarily with stabilising those aspects of their life which were in their control, namely their place of residence and geographical area of employment. Motivation to remain with the same employing body was, in every case, influenced by family and personal non-work interests. Mobility did not appear to enter greatly into the picture at this stage, since relatively few envisaged any personal upwards or downwards shift in their immediate career prospects. As a group, however, the Welfare Officers were most hopeful for their personal advancement and the Probation and Mental Health Officers least hopeful of a favourable change in their respective work statuses.

The relative absence of alternative attractive employment elsewhere and the general acceptance of the inevitability of the changes which were to take place in the Social Work scene does not mean, however, that these social workers now regarded themselves, or could be regarded by the departments concerned, as simply a resource which could be utilised in any manner thought necessary by the organisation. These social workers had

typically entered the service in order to achieve a sense of satisfaction and purpose in their work and, moreover, one could expect them to continue in this search in the new work situation. Over 66.6% of all of the social workers in the study stated that they were prepared to take some action, including leaving the job, if they failed to get satisfaction from their work in the new department service. The majority of these officers continued, therefore, to see themselves as influential in the situation and, because of this, could be expected to be concerned with the nature of the Inducements which would be made available in the new service and with preserving intact those sets of interests which were important to themselves in the situation. It was the continued hypothesis of this study that it would be their commitment to a specialist-type clientele which would feature as among the strongest personal commitmentments or Inducement which the worker would attempt to retain in the new work situation.

CHAPTER 6

LEADERSHIP STYLE : THE DIRECTORS.

Weber's model of the "ideal type" bureaucratic organisation requires that individuals be given posts on the basis of their technical competency for the work. That once in post, these individuals would operate in a technically rational manner so as to achieve the goal of the organisation.[1] A difficulty, however, arises from the fact that organisations have other sets of goals quite apart from those official objectives or aims of the organisation.[2] These sub-goals of the organisation, which include such objectives as the maintainance and survival of the organisation itself, may not necessarily be congruent with, or contribute to, the achievement of the organisation's official goal and objectives. (Selznick). Confronted by a variety of different objectives in the situation, each of which is important for one or other aspect of the organisation's activities, in what way is the role holder to operate 'rationally', and which set of criteria must he use? Within the framework of the organisation, the structure itself, March and Simon suggest, gives rise to particular sets of commitments which act to make the individual subjectively rational in the situation rather than objectively so. The structure of the organisation, moreover, can be seen as giving rise to particular sets of commitments which need not, however,

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1 P.M. Blau 'Bureaucracy in Modern Society', pp.28-33

2 A.Etzioni 'Two Approaches to Organisational Analysis',p.259 in 'Administrative Science Quarterly', 1961.
E. Yuchman & S.Seashore 'A System Resource Approach to Organisational Effectiveness' in 'Amer.Soc.Review' 1967
P.Selznick op.cit. pp.254-9
March & Simon. op.cit. pp.150-9

be shared by all the members, nor necessarily be directed to the same common end. Such a situation could be thought of as posing certain problems for the organisation in as much as conflict may result out of the fact that different individuals or groups in the organisation are pursuing diverse or conflicting ends, and/or that, as a result of this, the overall effectiveness of the organisation is impaired. The task of the executive is to attempt to bring these different elements back into some alignment. A situation in which more active involvement by management is required in re-aligning the different aspects of the work would appear to be more readily associated with those organisations which are experiencing change in their activities or goals, or both, and where the routinisation of tasks cannot yet ben established for the workers.

The times, Burns and Stalker suggest, dictate the forms of management most suited to the needs of the organisation.[3] In times of stability where routinisation of tasks and decision-making is the norm, mechanistic forms of management may predominate. Whilst during times of change or innovation, organic systems of management are more likely to provide the more effective response to the needs of the organisation. Neither form of management style is necessarily "better" than the other. The suitability of either lies in the nature of the demands which the organisation is attempting to meet. The important point to be taken is that whilst there is no one style of management which is universally suitable for all types of

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3 Burns and Stalker 'The Management of Innovation', pp.96,125.

organisations and stages of development, nonetheless, certain managerial responses to the needs of the organisation will prove more or less effective when certain conditions prevail. (Fox). These conditions are typically influenced by the state of the market or the environment in which the organisation is located, and is dependent upon for its manpower, resources or consumers. Fundamental changes in the conditions in which the organisation operates may call forth quite radical changes in the system of management within the organisation and, more particularly, if these changes are thought to be of a permanent nature and, as such, cannot be 'rode through' in a manner which might be feasible with short-term innovations. However, the desirability of changes in managerial functions during times of change or innovation does not by itself create the appropriate managerial style. How the executive perceives and interprets his own position and role in the situation is an important variable in determining whether or not any adjustment is required, or the kind of adjustment which will take place in their own performance as leaders of the organisation.

Whilst not denying the pull which the structure and objectives of the organisation can exert over the behaviour of the individual, some studies have indicated that the personality and values of the individual, in this instance the executive, can act to counter these structural constraints. Gouldner, for example, found that the managerial style differed markedly between one plant manager and his successor. That not only was the style of

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Fox op. cit. pp.27-33

Gouldner 'Pattern of Industrial Bureaucracy' p.59

leadership different, but also the goals being pursued by the organisation and the sets of relationships which resulted with the change in management's performance. Moreover, the difference in style was more attributable to the sets of values held by the two men, rather than to the structural features of the organisation or their own position as managers. Individual managers may not be content simply to fill dead men's shoes in the work situation, but rather, will seek to place their own particular stamp on the organisation, the point being that the existing structure of the organisations or its goals does not necessarily determine the behaviour of its executive staff, or the climate which will be established by the executive for the organisation. Nor can it be taken for granted that the particular style or approach taken by the executive will necessarily prove beneficial, either to the organisation in furthering its objectives, or for staff in allowing them to meet their own particular sets of interests in the organisation. However, the latter ability of the executive to provide a work context which would allow the workers to achieve some of their own personal interests in the situation is regarded by some writers as crucial in retaining the participation of workers for the organisation.[4] (Trahair, Cooper, Bendix, Selznick). The manner in which the executive or the manager performs his role in the situation, therefore, is a critical factor in determining the sets of experiences beneficial or otherwise which the worker will be confronted with during times of change.

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4 R.C.S. Trahair 'Dynamics of a Role Theory for the Worker's Judgement', p.116, 1969.
R. Cooper. 'Leader's Task Relevance and Subordinate Behaviour' Human Relations, Feb.1966.
R.Bendix. 'Work and Authority in Industry'
Selznick. op.cit.

With respect to the four previously specialist groups involved in this particular study, the changeover to the new Social Work Service structure could be thought of as both a permanent and radical change in the demands being made on Social Work staff. Prior to the changeover, each specialist agency was relatively stable and free of any major innovation in their method of practice as specialists and each group was largely divorced from theother specialist bodies and from concerns for wider community care and involvement. Indeed, it was this insularity of each specialism which provided much of the motive power behind the change to the new structure. Speed, for example, made the following statement on the change in a Social Work journal which underlines the static position of the former specialist agencies in combating the social problems of the client and the community:

> "I join in the general thanksgiving forSeebohm.* It is not that its organisation solution is perfect, but simply that it is a far-sighted practical solution to a situation which has brought no credit to existing departments, a solution, moreover, commanding almost unanimous support from those who work in the personal service."

Moreover, each group operated not simply as specialists, but also essentially as administrators and caseworkers, rather than

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M. Speed "Welfare Services and the Social Service Department", p.23, Social Work 1968.

* Seebohm, the English version of the Scottish legislation.

community or group workers, and it was with community concerns that the new legislation was concerned, quite apart from its concern with integration of social work staff. Finally, not everyone involved in the new merger had actually sought after the integration. Different groups attached different sets of views as to the effect of the change for their own personal position and that of their clients (Jarvis). Stewart suggests that the success of a merger depends on the reactions of its members to the proposed move and that different sorts of mergers can be expected to give rise to different sorts of problems of adjustment. That in amalgamations which were designed, as in this instance of the new social work services, to form a new company, the disruptions would be greatest.[5]

The situation of the social workers in this study prior to the changeover was one in which most were generally content with their specialist interest area in that few officers actively sought to engage in social work outwith that sphere of specialism. Moreover, few social workers in the group had themselves welcomed the move towards integration and the proposed new social work role. Their previous work situation reflected the conditions which Burns and Stalker associated with the mechanistic stage of management, where the individual worker in the organisation

> ".....works at a job which is in a sense artifically abstracted from the realities of the situation the concern (organisation)* is dealing with."[6]

F.V.Jarvis 'A View from the Probation Service" Social Work '68.
'In or Out? An Agonising Appraisal' Case Conf.1968

5 R. Stewart 'How Mergers affect Managers', New Society, Feb.'63

* Own insertion

6 Burns and Stalker. op.cit. p124.

The worker becomes concerned, almost exclusively, with his own particular territory and cases or clients, and loses sight of the broader aims of the organisation as a whole because the responsibility and role had been defined within too narrow limits. The fact that such had been suspected to have been the case was evident in the reasons presented in support of the move to the new Social Work Service structure, namely - the different specialist groups; the artificiality of the boundaries between the specialisms; the narrow concerns of individual specialisms with the tendency for each to evolve its own philosophy about its staff and their contribution to the service of the client; and, because of the piecemeal structure, a general failure to come to grips with both the wider aspects of the client's problems and the problem of advancing general community welfare.

The concept of the new Social Work Departments, on the other hand, represented a move on the part of the Social Work professions and the Government to remove many of the aforementioned difficulties of providing Social Work Services on a much broader front. These new departments involved not simply an integration of existing specialist personnel from the different agencies, but also the dissolution of such individual identities and the creation of, and practice in, a role which involved a much wider range of responsibilities. The multi-purpose social work role demanded that the Social Worker leave aside his or her previous specialist identity and the claims of that specialism and become knowledgeable and active in the total range of social work services to be provided by the new

department and also to become more actively involved in community work projects at large. The new Social Work Departments and the role cast for them in the legislation governing the changeover, took on much of the colour of the innovatory states in an organisation's development, which Burns and Stalker associated with Organistic forms of management. This form of management (being a situation in which the individual's job ceased to be neatly self-contained and specialised) was rather one where,

> "....the only way in which his job can be done is by participating continually with others in the solution of problems which are real to the firm."[7]

Such were the demands of the new situation brought about by the changes in Social Work legislation of 1968. A situation in which social workers were required to learn the procedures surrounding the work of the previous specialist bodies and to undertake work and responsibilities in these new areas. These workers were also expected to become more involved with their employing organisation by sharing in the responsibility for detecting and catering for social need in the community. (Butler). The demands of the service had changed from a specialist and perhaps fragmented area of concern, to a more global and perhaps because of this, more vague responsibility towards the community generally. (Watson).

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7 Burns and Stalker. op.cit. p.125
B. Butler 'New Thinking About Administration' A.S.W.p.19 1966
S. Watson 'The Place of Administration in Social Work', A.S.W., pp.10-12, 1966.

However, the manner in which a particular local authority Social Work Department responded to these new proposals was very much dependent on the particular leadership-style adopted by the individual Directors of the new service. That such diversity of leadership performance did exist was reflected in the following statement on the new legislation and its impact on the community:

> "The Bill has been left deliberately vague.....it simply requires that 'it shall be the duty of every local authority to promote social welfare in their area by making available advice guidance and assistance on such a scale as may be appropriate'.
>
> "Unsurely handled, it could mean the mixture as before in new offices. But given a good push, it could mean closing all those gaps which were nobody's business before.....The scope it offers is the Bill's real significance." (New Society,1966, March.)

"Unsurely handled" and "Given a good push" were the operative words upon which so much would depend in the development of the new Social Work Departments and their ability to meet some of the demands for which they had been brought into being. This 'handling' and 'push' could rightfully be regarded as the responsibility of the Director. This emphasis on the role of the Director during the critical stage of the setting-up and guiding the development could be justified on several grounds. First, as Burns and Stalker state,

> "He, in fact, whether alone or in association with

other members of the concern, directs the use to which the combined resources of people and materials and equipment of the concern are to be put. It is for him to decide the nature of the task to which the concern is being applied and, in particular, to gauge the rate of change in conditions of that task."[8]

Secondly, the Director of the Organisation gives the appropriate leadership in the setting up of objectives or the mission of the organisation, and creates the social organisation capable of meeting these objectives. (Newman, Watson, Burns and Stalker).

Thirdly, he establishes the tone of the organisation by setting the demands of staff in terms of 'commitment, effort and self-involvement' which the employee should regard as feasible and should attempt to meet.[9] Concomitant with this need for greater personal commitment from staff by the organisation goes the development of shared beliefs among staff about the legitimacy of the values and goals of the organisation. (Edwards, Davies, Fox). It is the task of the Director to ensure that these values and objectives are clearly recognised and that a degree of commitment to the fulfilment of these objectives is met.

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8 Burns and Stalker. op.cit. pp.101-2.
A.D. Newman. 'Constructing a Pattern of Thinking', in New Thinking about Administration, p.8, A.S.W. op.cit.
Watson. op.cit. pp.10-11

9 Burns and Stalker. op.cit. pp.101-2
F.E.Edwards. 'A Model to Effect the Integration of Field Work Staff', p.35, in Social Work 1971.
C. Davies. 'Reaction to Change in Social Service Department'. Case Conference, p.331, 1968.
A. Fox. op.cit. pp.32-33

These aspect of the Director's role, however, when viewed from the perspective of the worker, are essentially concerned with the contributions demanded from the latter in terms of the sets of behaviours which the worker is expected to display. The Director, however, also has the responsibility of finding the appropriate sets of Inducements which will motivate staff to meet the requirements which he wishes to impose on them in their work. In doing so, Fox suggests that the Director must take cognisance of the worker's own particular sets of motivations in the situation. The worker's sets of satisfactions in the situation will largely be influenced, he suggests, by the nature of the work and the work group in which the individual worker is involved.[10] That work which holds forth essentially instrumental and material satisfactions will tend to attract men whose priorities lie in that direction, whereas for others, such as professional people, the nature of the work itself represents an important intrinsic set of factors motivating the individual to enter and to remain in the organisation. The social workers in this study could be regarded as having professional sets of commitments to their work and to have sought largely intrinsic sets of satisfaction as a major source of work satisfaction. The amalgamation of the different services presented the Directors with the task of maintaining or providing some compensatory sources of intrinsic satisfactions which these officers previously experienced as specialist staff. The new situation, with its demand for a multi-purpose-type role obligation rather than a specialist commitment, appeared to threaten the existing basis of work without necessarily supplanting this with an attractive alternative for the worker.

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10 Fox. op.cit. pp.9-10: 25.

Moreover, the fact that the different specialist groups had generated certain images of themselves and their contribution and had encouraged staff to become personally involved in the work gave rise to the possibility that these emotional investments in the role would be more difficult to overcome than the more objective material concerns of the individual's position. In the past the individual specialist had been able to validate his specialist image and sense of worth in a particular field. The changeover to the new structure potentially removed these previous sets of hidden inducements which, as Strauss suggests, are nonetheless important sets of satisfactions which attract or repel the worker in the job situation.[11]

Finally, there is the sense in which the worker is thought to seek to establish some form of relationship with his executive staff, and if the structural conditions of the situation do not permit face-to-face interaction between worker and executive, the former nevertheless still establishes certain perspectives about the executive on the basis of cues which the worker picks up in the situation. (Trahair. Cooper. Daniel), and the possibility that some workers will seek evidence that the executive is interested in and cares about his workers.

Given the variety of concerns confronting the Director in the situation, we would agree with Urwick's view of leadership

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11 Strauss et al. 'Psychiatric Ideologies and Institutions', pp.144-7.
Trahair 'Dynamics of Role Theory', p.116. Human Relations, 1969.
R. Cooper 'Leaders Task Relevance and Subordinate Behaviour in Industrial Work Groups'. Human Relations, pp.65-9,75. Feb.1966
W.W. Daniel 'Understanding Employee Behaviour' pp.49-50,58,in 'Child, Man & Organisation' 1973.

as something which goes beyond mere administrative efficiency and follow the suggestion of Burns and Stalker that

> '....the clue to the situation often lay in the character of the head of the concern'. op cit.p.210.

The question we now turn to is how the character and capabilities of the two Directors of the larger and smaller Social Work Departments had been harnessed to meet the demands confronting their respective organisations; and to determine just how much 'leadership', as already defined, had, in fact, been given in each case, and the subsequent impact on the commitment and the activities of their respective social work staff.

The Director of Department A

The appointment of the majority of directors for the Social Work Departments in Scotlahd had been made by July of 1969 and it had been expected that these men would immediately concern themselves with the preparatory work for the impending integration of the new service.[12] The particular appointment of the Director of Department A, however, had not been regarded as a popular choice by a number of social workers and professional groups in the area, with the exception of the Probation Department, which disassociated itself from that feeling. Those officers who were not in favour of the new appointment had joined in support of lobbies to their professional association and to the Town Council over the post. The major criticism of these social workers had centred around the new man's lack of any professional social work qualification or experience for the job of Director of the new

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12 'Social Work in Scotland', p.50. H.M.S.O., 1969.
L.F. Urwick 'The Pattern of Management', p.51, 1965.

integrated Social Work Service. The Director's position prior to his new appointment had been in a related social service department of the local authority and some of his more critical opponents regarded his appointment as a political one, rather than a professional one designed to meet the needs of the new department. Whether such an interpretation of the situation was or was not justified does not matter here; what matters was the fact that a number of officers in the department held that view of the appointment and this influenced their immediate response to and appraisal of the man. The new Director's critics also made reference to his method of organising his previous post: 'Nothing had changed in it', and the inference was that the same would come to be said of the Director's handling of the new department.

From his appointment, some four months prior to the official transfer date in November 1969, official and informal meetings between the Director and his field work staff were something of a rarity and such meetings as did take place provided little information to staff on the nature, objectives or policy of the new department or the Director's view of the position of staff in the new set-up. Faced with the increasing lack of information coming from the Director or those in charge of the still-existing specialist departments, the field staff themselves attempted to organise visits and meetings with different specialist groups involved in the changeover, on an informal basis. The objective of these meetings, of which there were only a few, was to share what pieces of information as were available among the staff and

* Only one formal interview was held with the director of Department A. The data in this chapter was in fact gathered from social workers operating at all levels in the department.

to establish some sort of personal contact among the different groups of officers prior to the change, in the hope of building up some degree of mutual sentiment and support for the change-over proposals.

Little real benefit, however, was derived from this exercise among the staff, since the impressions gained by those officers concerned was that no group of social workers in Department A was really prepared for, or welcomed the move to, integration. Child Care staff looked upon Probation staff as 'sick at the thought of integration'; whilst the Child Care staff, predominantly young girls, impressed Probation Officers as generally 'insecure'. One female Probation Officer remarked:

> 'I'm not looking forward to Child Care Officers coming here (after integration). They give me the creeps, they are so nervous.'

In any event, these get-togethers were short-lived, principally because of pressure of work on staff time, but also because few social workers knew anything about the implications of the change, either for their own specialist group or for staff generally. Even those at the head of the existing specialist agencies were in the dark as to the structure of the new department or the policy of the Director.

The early meetings held by the new Director with senior representatives of the existing specialist agencies were concerned with matters which were viewed by these people as inappropriate, or inappropriate in the sense of not dealing with the situations which they and their staff thought to be top priority in the

situation. Whilst the Director was concerned with determining the size and types of accommodation and resources which would be available to the new department, the staff were looking for information on professional issues and career issues of those involved in the changeover. Suggestions put to the Director that staff were prepared to integrate before the official integration date were rejected by him in favour of the November deadline.

The initial structure decided by the Director was that the new department would continue to utilise the existing Social Work offices, but that each office would now include staff from every specialism, and that the social workers would operate in mixed social work teams. Whilst some structure had been decided by the Director and had gone to a Committee for ratification, no social worker, at any level in the department, knew where he or she would be located in the new proposals, and not everyone knew details of these general proposals which had been submitted.

During this time the Director had also made a visit to the Probation Department to meet with the staff of the joint Probation area who might be called upon to join his new department. His visit, however, had coincided with the visit of his counterpart from Department B, who also expected to draw some of the Probation Officers into his new department. The contrast between the two men, in terms of their presentation and their views of the new departments, however, had worked to the detriment of the Director of Department A. As one officer stated of the meeting:

> "....he put over a very poor show. The difference between him and X (Director of Dept.B) was too sharp and the officers preferred X."

At that meeting the officers had also asked the Director about his proposals and ideas for the setting-up and working of the new Social Work Department, but the Director was said to have replied that he 'didn't know'. This remark had generated much dismay among the staff, as a result of which many more officers in the agency had opted for Area B than there were places available.

As late as October and November 1969, the knowledge held by Social Work staff in Department A about the new department was still meagre. Social workers had been made aware that the new department would be geographically split into three sections - two Social Work Divisional Offices (the former Probation and Children's Department buildings) and the third section housing the executive staff, which became known as 'Headquarters'. Many of the staff knew where they would be physically located within the new department, but the status of a number of social workers was still unresolved. The original structure of the department which had been submitted by the Director had been replaced in favour of a structure in which overall responsibility for all areas of social work was invested in one post and that had gone to the head of one of the previously existing specialist social work agencies. The four-month period during which the Director held his appointment, however, was singularly noted for the absence of information held by the staff at almost every level. The response of staff to the lack of clarity of their position during this preparatory stage of the changeover was varied; one officer stated:

"I'm too busy to think about the 17th (changeover date) or the lack of information. I just get on with the job. I'm letting the 17th take care of itself. If that sounds apathetic, lack of information makes you that way."

Other social workers, however, were less inclined to simply await developments. Some Child Care Officers had attempted to get up a petition among the staff to present to the Director, requesting information on what was happening with respect to the setting-up of the new department, which was at that point in time only three weeks from the official dateline period. As far as that particular group of officers was concerned, they felt completely in the dark about their new role in the new Social Work Department and were still ignorant of who their senior staff would be in the new department; the areas in which they would operate or what would become of their caseloads in the event of a physical move to another region within the new department. The Director, for his part,had only met on one occasion with the entire Child Care staff during the months following on from his appointment. His major contribution at that meeting had been to point out to social workers that, as the main thoroughfare of the town was difficult to cross and also formed a natural division between the areas of the northern and southern sides of the town, then this would also form the boundaries of the two main divisional offices. Whether such a remark had been made in a jocular and off-the-cuff manner was unclear; what was important, however, was that that statement remained the major piece of information which these officers had extracted from the meeting, and which had

become lodged in their minds. For those who were in the process of getting up the petition, the new department was 'in a shambles'. Moreover, these officers stated that they had no personal animosity towards the Director, but, rather, were concerned with the fact that he appeared to be deliberately withholding information from them. Requests to senior executive staff by social workers in the field for a meeting with the Director met with statements to the effect that the Director would meet the staff 'when he had something to say'. For their part, the staff were concerned as much by the absence of a relationship and sense of confidence in the Director as they were by the lack of forthcoming information on the changes which were so central to their own position, both as professionals and as employees.

Two weeks before the posting date, staff were informed of the teams which they would belong and the divisional office they would be assigned to after the changeover. A number of senior officers, however, complained about the lack of consultation with themselves on this disposal of social workers in the new department.

The situation, right up to the changeover date of 17 November, therefore was one of confusion and uncertainty among staff. Little or no leadership of the kind portrayed earlier had been offered to staff and the Director had already gained the image of being a remote, shadowy and authoritarian figure. The prior expectations of staff, that they would be consulted on where and how they would work, had not taken place, and still remained unsettled, generated dissatisfaction and anxiety among staff at all levels of the organisation. The situation had deteriorated to such an

extent that on the official day of the changeover, the Probation staff sent a deputation to the Director to lobby for clarification on important sets of issues concerning themselves, such as pay, conditions of service and the nature of their new work role. That group was met by an assistant to the Director, rather than the Director himself, although the staff stated the Director was available in the building at the time the meeting had taken place.

Between the period November-February, little movement could be detected in the structure and operations of the new department, other than that the headquarters staff had taken up their offices and that there had been some movement of clerical workers and Welfare and Mental Health staff. Probation and Child Care staff continued to be housed in their original offices and each group tended to operate essentially as specialists of their former discipline. Part of the explanation for this lack of movement had been the difficulties over accommodation, particularly the accommodation previously shared by the Probation staff. The former Probation Department continued up until the end of January, 1970, to house Probation Officers from both Departments A and B, and until such time as the Department B group could be transferred out of the building, other social workers had to remain much as they were. However, it was not simply the lack of physical movement, in terms of integration of social work staff, and the establishment of teams of mixed social workers, but also the sense of marking time and the absence of information on the policy and aims of the new Director and his department, and these did not depend entirely on the availability of buildings. Social workers in the field offices saw the growing estrangement

between themselves and their Director as something which he himself had created - perhaps deliberately created - for ends of his own:

> "I think there has been a deliberate policy to break down the morale of the department and perhaps they are doing this in the other departments as well; reducing us to nothing and then, after a year, building us into something new. That is, if there is anyone left to build with!"

Social workers continued to receive little consultation as to how or where their services would be used. The strategy of the Director and his executive was to 'tell' staff where they would be located, rather than to ask them how they would like to be utilised in the situation. One senior remarked of a conversation between himself and an assistant director on this question that "They (staff) would be told where they are going." Moreover, this senior felt that such would be the tone of the Director's relationships with staff throughout his career.

> "I think, in fact, that this is the pattern the Director is going to take, with him stating what is going to happen and no consultation about the pros and cons of the matter. This may be a good thing. Perhaps we need an autocratic leader at the top? Maybe this is the way to go about it? But I, personally, don't agree withit."

The delays on gaining access to accommodation occupied by members of the other department meant that, in fact, the actual posting date of staff into their new offices did not take place

until the first week in February - some three months after the official inauguration of the new department.

In February of 1970 the staff of Department A became fully integrated. Some social workers were posted to another division of the department and this general posting of staff meant that the cases of the departing social workers had to be redistributed among those who were to remain with a particular division. However, because of the shortage of staff, this redistribution of work had entailed a general rise in caseload size for many of the remaining workers in the department. Apart from the upheaval involved in moving offices and their physical location of work, social workers in the new department were also confronted at that time with a general breakdown in their day-to-day system of communications. The telephone system of one of the two main divisional offices was unable to cope with the volume of calls and for several weeks communications in and out of the department were made difficult whilst the new lines were installed. Also, the headquarters administrative staff of the department insisted on managing the new department on the centralised lines which had existed in the new Director's former smaller agency. Mail for the entire department was first despatched to the headquarters to be opened and read by the Director and/or his assistant, and only then was it redistributed to the person to whom it was originally addressed. This procedure, of course, entailed considerable delays. Even senior staff of the headquarters' section complained that their morning mail was rarely delivered before the afternoon. Two of the social workers' major means of communicating with outside bodies - the telephone and the mail - had been disrupted by their

entry into the new department; and whilst the difficulties over the telephone system couldpossibly be put up with as a temporary measure, the delay over the mail was regarded as an intrusion into the ability of the social worker at field- and middle-management levels to carry out his or her work in the manner in which they had previously operated. The build-up of complaints over the centralisation of mail eventually brought a hastening up of the recirculation of letters and other modifications were introduced at the instigation of the staff.

Little by way of involvement in other areas of specialist-type work characterised the situation of social workers during that time. The majority of staff continued to operate in their previous specialist capacity, with only minimal involvement in the other branches of the service. If there was little by way of integration in terms of disciplines, the same could not be said of the integration of staff in terms of their relationships with one another. New staff coming into the different sections accommodated one another, and there was little evidence of any sense of personal or group friction among the different specialist workers.

The breakdown in communications, the centralisation of decision-making, and the absence of information on those decisions which were made, the lack of involvement in other areas of work and the high caseloads, together generated images of the new department as being a regressive move, and the uncertainty which still persisted in the situation had aroused anxieties among the staff, both about their own personal futures as well as that of the service. The following statements should serve to illustrate

how staff interpreted the development within the department and something of the personal costs which being a member of that department had had for some of its staff:

> "I get frustratéd sometimes. I feel that things are moving too slowly. I'm impatient. I tell myself that it's early days yet and I have to give the new department a year to get underway. But it seems to have taken us a long time to get where we are and we still don't have our Depute (director) or all our senior staff. Nor do we know what the policy of the new department is to be."

(One year later, this same officer was making almost the same comments).

Another officer remarked:

> "I'm quite concerned about the lack of response to our adverts. for staff for the department. We have had only four enquiries so far. I blame the lack of drive up above for the poor adverts. Also, when you hear of how....(Department B) are getting along, it makes you sick to think that we are doing nothing."

And, indeed, a number of staff did experience emotional stress during the stage of the changeover:

> "There was a great deal of anxiety prior to the integration. Even with myself and ... and ... (her two juniors). We used to get on very well together. Go out together in the evening, and yet, just before

we split up to come here, we were actually saying things to one another that we didn't really mean and upsetting one another. We all realised what was happening, but we couldn't do anything about it. We're friends again now."

And, from another senior member of staff:

"There was a time, a few months ago, when I felt that I had 'lost the place'. Where I felt that I was neurotic and imaging things. I don't think so. I think these things were real."

What is apparent from the foregoing brief overview of the development in Department A was the tremendous feeling of uncertainty among staff, both with respect to their own positions in the department and the policy and aims of the department itself. Mair had stated prior to the implementation of the new legislation that an integrated department did not necessarily create a united profession, and that the most crucial task of any new Director would be the establishment of a professional 'esprit de corps' among the staff.[13] To achieve this, however, the 'task relevance' of theDirector appears important.(Cooper). This particular Director, however, did not share the professional social work training with his staff, nor did his orientation to the work appear to be in keeping with that of his staff. Indeed,

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R. Mair - Book Reviews, p.57 'Case Conference' 1969.
R. Cooper- op.cit. p.57

the new Director had been extremely reticent about his aims and his policy for the new department and for his staff. Burns states the faster changes take place within an organisation, the more likely it would be that management would spend much of its time in talking with those involved in implementing the changes. Moreover, Burns stresses the importance of the executive and staff talking the same language and being on similar wavelengths. Not only did the new Director in Department A not speak the same language as his social work staff, he seldom spoke with them at all during the eight months following on from his appointment.

The style of leadership adopted by the Director did come over to his staff as autocratic and secretive. Even one of his top associates remarked of him: 'He plays his cards very close'. i.e.gives nothing away to the other players, who, in this case, were his staff. His communications to staff took the form of brief and often curt memos., but rarely any face-to-face communication. Only middle-management staff attended meetings at Headquarters, but few of these meetings were presided over by the Director, or even with the Director in attendance. Requests by staff to meet with the Director to discuss the uncertainties in the situation had been met with an official statement that the Director would meet with the staff 'when he had something to say.'

The problem was not that the new Director and his team had been completely ineffectual during the period governing the changeover (obviously a good deal of behind-the-scenes administration had taken place), but it was the fact that social

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T. Burns - 'What Managers Do.' New Society. Dec.1964. p.9

workers were kept ignorant of what had and was taking place in the department with the result that the hostility towards the Director and his executive had begun to build up among the staff. The Director's somewhat mechanistic form of management, in which decisions were centralised at the top and controlled by himself without much by way of consultation with lower and middle management levels might well have been acceptable, as Burns and Stewart suggest, when the department's routines and environment are stable, but such were not the conditions in which the new Director and his department operated. The move to the new service was perhaps the most significant change to have taken place in socialwork for the past thirty years. He had provided no policy for his staff, nor had he attempted to formulate a new ideology which would serve to integrate all the different specialisms, together into one larger social work community. Nor had he demonstrated what Trahair and Cooper suggested to be the importance of a sense of concern for the wellbeing of his staff or gained their trust. An important omission, perhaps, in as much as Stewart suggests that the success of a merger depends largely on the reactions of the employees. This was perhaps particularly relevant in this instance, where the staff were professional people who held certain views of their

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R. Stewart. op.cit. p.14
T. Burns. 'What Managers Do.' p.8. New Society, Dec. 1964.
B. Trahair. 'Workers' Judgement of Pay', op cit. p.152
R. Cooper. op.cit. pp.65-69.

own worth and who expected a degree of consultation from the Director in how their services would be utilised by the depar ment. Moreover, these officers worked in a 'caring' organis and profession and expected that the same degree of consider which was shown to the client would also be forthcoming to t selves during this critical time of the change.[13] That soci workers have such a set of expectations is highlighted in th statements by Newton on the nature of the change to the new structure and its meaning for social work staff:

> "....our social work knowledge and experience infor us that resistance to change is usually a direct resul of imperfect communications, and that by communication we con't just mean what we say to people, or what is written down and circulated throughout an organisation. The most vital part of communication is how we behave to people. It includes what we say and what we do not say, as well as what we do and what we leave undone."
>
> "As chief officers become more remote, their attitudes and intentions are imagined by field workers rather than experienced."

Such a sense of remoteness between top and lowerlevels an organisation may be quite tolerable during times of stabi and/or where the worker's tasks are clearly defined and have become routine. The situation, however, could be expected t become more threatening when the worker is confronted with u certainty and pressure of work in the situation. Under the conditions, conditions experienced by social work staff in D

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13 F.M.Drake 'On Change', p.68. British Journal of Social
G. Newton 'Adapting to Change', Social Work. 1968.

ment A, the strain of the change was lived through on a day-to-day basis and the passage of time took on tremendous significance for these workers who awaited a change in their conditions which seemed painfully slow to develop. Moreover, as a group, the social work staff suffered a sense of relative deprivation as a result of their comparison of their own position with that of social workers, some of whom were previous colleagues or friends, who operated in the nearby Social Work Department B.

The Director of Department B:

The differences between the Director of Department A and the Director appointed to Social Work Department B were extremely marked. These contrasts were particularly sharp in terms of their social origins, professional qualifications and orientation to their role and that of the new Social Work Service. The Director of Department A was a Scot, whilst the new Department B Director was English. The latter held a social work qualification, whilst the other Director held a non-social work professional qualification. The greatest contrast, however, lay in the different leadership style which each adopted to their respective role of Director. The Director of Department B had been held in high esteem by both the employing authority who had made much of his appointment to the new post, and also by the social workers themselves. The new Director not only was professionally qualified for the post (a factor considered most important among social workers at that time), but he had also been head of a social work oriented department in England and had written in social work journals about the changeover proposals. The credentials

of the new Director, therefore, appeared to suit him for his particular appointment. Moreover, these social work interests and his social work background acted to influence the manner in which he approached his new role and how he presented the image of himself and his new department to his social work staff.

Burns and Stalker had stated that the more important tasks of a leader were the determining of the nature of the tasks of the organisation and the leader's use of the organisation's manpower and other resources. In addition, the leader also was responsible for setting the goals or the mission of the organisation and for creating the necessary commitment to these objectives among his staff. The leader also had the responsibility, Fox reminds us, of providing the necessary sets of Inducements which will attract people to remain with the organisation. Finally, he will be viewed as a person and, as such, will be expected to establish a degree of confidence and trust in his staff. If we look at the Director's behaviour during the period from his appointment to the time of the second stage of the study, we shall be able to determine how many of these elements of a leader's role he had managed to incorporate in his own individual performance.

During the period dating from his appointment in June 1969 until February of 1970, which was the date of the second stage of the study, the Department B Director had managed to devise and have accepted a structure for his new department, to have one of

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Burns and Stalker.- op.cit. pp.101-2.
Fox. op.cit. pp.9-10.

his area teams in operation in the specialist social work staff. It is perhaps useful to divide the period into two sections, the first dating from his appointment to the date of the official[2] changeover point - a period of approximately four months; and the second, dating from November to that of the following February - some four months after the changeover. This division is necessary because during the first period, the Director was virtually alone in his efforts on behalf of the organisation and his negotiations which took place with interested parties on the design and policy of the new Social Work Department. How the new department emerged, therefore, had been very much dependent on his own personal activities and initiative. Indeed, it was only a few weeks before the changeover took place that his executive staff were appointed, and their influence was only felt after that date.

June-November 1969

One of the first priorities of the new Director was the setting-up of official and informal meetings with all of the members of his new staff. Regular consultation and information input sessions featured strongly among his early activities in the preparatory work on behalf of the new department. He had stated that "No staff should work without a clear definition of their role and their responsibilities" and had attempted to provide them with such a definition in the way of work contracts and job descriptions for social work staff at every level in the new department. This work contract - completely novel in the social work scene in Scotland at the time - informed staff

* Apart from two formal interviews with the director of Department B , I was able to attend all the informal staff meetings held by Director B and his social work staff. The data on Director B was also supplemented by interviews with social workers at all levels of his department.

as to their expected contributions and obligations to the new department, as well as the particular sets of Inducements which they might expect to receive for their efforts on behalf of the organisation. The Director had appreciated at the outset the fact that individual social workers, as well as entire groups of specialist staff, were concerned about their own particular position in the new department. At one of his first meetings with staff, the Director stated that 'normal' protection had been given to all individuals under the changeover regulations. This normal protection took the form of assuring the individual social worker of a job with at least the same pay and status as that which existed prior to their transfer into the new department. The Director stressed that there would be 'no redundancy'. The situation of promoted posts in the new department was deliberately left open. Staff were informed by the Director that "Promotions in the new department are open to everyone. "Anyone can apply for any job they like." He added that it was up to the individual to show that he or she was capable of filling such a post and that he would be watching their performances closely over the succeeding months.

The official meetings held with the new Director took place on a weekly basis and, in all, 20 such meetings were held with staff up to the changeover period. Approximately eight to ten persons attended these meetings. These included social workers from all of the different ranks and specialisms. What tended to happen was that those social workers who were free attended the meetings and relayed information back to the other members of

staff who had been unable to attend. In the case of the Child Care group, the numbers prevented every social worker attending and instead they established their own rota of representatives, again drawn from all levels in the agency. The purpose of these meetings was to relay to the social worker the nature of the developments taking place and the problems currently besetting the new Director from a variety of sources, as well as discussions centering around their own particular role in the new service. From the point of view of this study, it was the latter concern with the use of social work staff which was of most significance for the discussion.

As a man the new Director combined both an administrative talent with a commitment to the professional ideals of the new service and, moreover, attempted in his weekly discussion with staff to make them more aware of their own broader sets of administrative responsibilities. He informed staff that in the new department he would expect them to be 'more organisationally minded' than social workers had been known to be in the past, and to make more efficient use of their time:

> "Social workers have no time of their own. It is either the department's or the clients'. If a social worker says he will 'make time', it means at the expense of other clients."
>
> "We will need," he said, "to articulate who we will take on and who we will not. What we will provide and what we will not."

At these meetings he attempted to make staff aware of the administrative constraints which would limit what might be feasible

in the new set-up and stressed the necessity for social workers to take responsibility for establishing priorities in keeping with the policy set by the department as a whole:

> "There is a lot of optimism about what can happen, but we need to temper it with a bit of realism.
>
> "We need to develop a philosophy on this. Do we see children as the future and old people on the way out? Or, see them as people? We need to develop our own philosophy.
>
> "What one hopes is that if a problem is presented to the area office, they will say 'Can we afford to do anything'?, or do they say, 'We can't do anything for you.' And if you are going to help, you must lay out your resources and say what you can do and what you can spare.
>
> "You must look at the competing demands of the situation with a policy in mind. The decision should be seen as logical. It should fit in with the department and how it runs."

Apart from conveying the difficulties of the situation to staff, the new Director also demonstrated in his presentation of the problems, his own appreciation of how the difficulties would be interpreted from the viewpoint of the social worker. In effect, he spoke their language. The discussions on resources was couched in terms of 'the needs of the client and the worker in the situation' as much as the needs of the organisation. Indeed, the Director attempted to draw the attention of staff to the inter-

relationship of the problems of the organisation with those of the worker in the field. Noteworthy, too, was the Director's use of the term "We" in his discussions of these important matters with staff, signifying their importance and involvement in the issues being raised by himself.

The ability of the Director to see the situation from the vantage point of the worker was made evident in a variety of ways. One simple example of this was in his handling of staff over the integration proposals. The new set-up would involve the physical movement of staff within the department. The Director, whilst stating the necessity for this move, emphasised that concern would be taken 'not to disturb cases'; by this he meant the relationship which social workers had with their clients, and that in the event of a social worker not being satisfied with the new arrangement being made, then some alternative provision would be attempted. The fact that the Director was knowledgeable of where the social workers' commitments lay in the situation engendered a degree of trust in the final decisions which were to be made on staff transfer, and, indeed, every member of staff had been subsequently notified on, and had agreed with, their own particular posting in the new department.

The fact that the Director spoke the language of the social worker and validated many of the self-concepts which they had, as social workers, in his discussions with them, does not mean that he himself operated as a social worker in the situation. On the contrary, he saw his role as essentially that of administrator in charge of a professional social work service and, moreover, acted to convey that concern to staff. Staff were told by the Director:

"The Department is not a democracy, but I will ensure that staff see why decisions are made that way."

The Director was also quite explicit as to the future role which he expected his social work field staff to undertake in the new department. Social workers 'would work across the board', that is, they would take on a multi-purpose role. The fact that such a requirement may have given rise to some anxiety among staff had, however, been anticipated by the Director, who sought to reassure staff that since all social workers used the same basic skills, the problems of undertaking other specialist-type work were exaggerated. He also sought, during these meetings, to establish a sense of commitment to the new service and the concept of the new social work role which he expected staff to play. Time and time again he spoke to staff of the necessity to develop a new ideology, or what he himself termed a 'new philosophy' towards their work, and to identify with a much broader set of interests then their previous specialist commitment. This attempt to create a sense of commitment to the aims of the new department is considered by Edwards and Davies to be a crucial factor in motivating staff to fulfil the obligations laid down in the social work legislation and this need was no less crucial for the Director's desire to involve his staff in the affairs of the wider community:

"Each social worker must be available to other bodies, and we must be known to be available. Each social worker must make effective contact with his area and not simply be in his area office. A going-out to the community,

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F.E.Edwards 'A Model to Effect Integration of Field Work Staff", p.35, Social Work.

C. Davies 'Reaction to Change in Social Service Departments', p.333: Today, 1971, in Case Conference 1968.

rather than people coming to the social work department."

He attempted to establish this commitment and new ideology of their work by presenting it to the staff as an exciting and challenging development, both for the service and for the social workers themselves. The new move was presented as a 'professional' development, and not simply an administrative one. The success of his efforts to introduce a new and wider set of commitments which would compensate for, or overcome, attachment to the commitment and identification with the existing specialism was highlighted in a situation which developed only a few weeks prior to the changeover deadline, 17 November 1969. The Director had informed staff that each social worker would receive a visiting card with their new title Social Worker written on the card in place of their former specialist title. A Child Care Officer at the meeting, however, pointed out to the Director and the group that in the case of the Probation group, it would perhaps remain necessary to retain their titles on visiting cards for a period of 12 months or so until such time as changes in Probation rules had been made. This comment, however, was met by a rejoiner from the three Probation Officers at the meeting -

"Oh! No! We are ALL social workers from 17th November. We can't begin with splintering the department."

The efforts of the Director during the months preceding the official changeover to provide a new set of commitments and identities to staff culminated in a grand residential weekend conference held for both social work staff, administrative staff

and the Social Work Committee of the Local Authority. This conference marked the last general and official get-together between the Director and his field staff, and occurred approximately two weeks before the official integration date. The conference had been opened by the Chairman of the Social Work Committee, who began by stating that the local authority had 'got the right man for the job', and ended by pledging the support of his committee. The objective of this conference appeared to contain three separate strands. It provided something of a public relations service by bringing the committee and the staff together on an informal basis; secondly, it was also a teach-in type of assembly, with guest speakers from the Social Work profession, councillors and the Director himself, all contributing an information input into the meeting. As such, the conference acted as a means of further elaborating on the new concept of the service and the role to be played by the workers in the new departments. Thirdly, it provided staff with a Rite de Passage, or an official leave-taking from their previous specialist commitment. The conference acted as a kind of ceremonial occasion to mark their new social status in the community and the profession. Such a transition ceremony has been regarded as important in influencing the ability of the individual to make the appropriate set of adaptions and commitments to his new social position in the group (Van Gennep, Rappaport, Crawford). The benefits which social workers derived from the conference were many and varied, but perhaps the statements of

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A.Van Gennep "The Rites of Pasdage", 1960.
R.Rappaport "Normal Crises, Family Structure & Mental Health" in Family Process, Vol.2, March 1963.
M.P.Crawford "Retirement: A Rite de Passage", p.460.

two officers who attended the conference should serve to demonstrate some of the strands listed above.

"We came back from the conference all starry-eyed and full of theory. Came down with a bang when I started work, though. Back to the Real Thing."

"Everyone enjoyed the course. I think it did a lot of good. It let the councillors see what we were doing. I had a telephone call from the Convenor, asking for a more information on a particular client. A DIRECT 'phone call.

Before you would never have heard about it if any enquiry had been made. They would simply have got in touch with the head of the department."

The preparatory work of the Director had involved him in regular face-to-face meetings with all sectors and levels of staff, and at these meetings he had attempted to deal with the current concerns and difficulties of these people, as well as to continue what he himself regarded as the important task of directing the new department and formulating its goals and philosophy. Much of the information and new sets of obligations were acceptable to both the staff and the Director. However, on occasion, a real difference of opinion did arise which the Director had to resolve. Only once did he fail to provide an acceptable solution and that matter, the proposed 24-hour duty system for staff, later developed into an issue between staff and the local authority. The personal prestige and integrity of the man, however, was not questioned by staff and he continued to remain throughout his stay in the department as a most approachable person.

After the changeover had taken place, the new Director preferred to operate largely through his immediate executive staff and the structure which he had designed for the department. He believed essentially in the principle of decentralisation of task and responsibilities. His role was that of integrating all the diverse interests and commitments of the department and obtaining the necessary resources for its activities. Because of these appointments, his earlier regular contacts with field work staff decreased, although he still continued to work with the more senior levels of staff in the department. This move was not regarded as evidence of his moving further away from staff, but rather as his allowing his more senior staff to carry out their role as they saw it. His concern was with staff development and he had previously told staff that the only way in which they would develop was by taking on more responsibilities themselves.

If the Director had made great strides on the personal and relationship side with staff in the department, he had, on the other hand, been unable to appoint all his senior field staff or provide suitable accommodation for these people during the few months following the change. Financial factors limited him in his ability to obtain other accommodation and make the appointments he wished. Only one area team operated as such in the community, whilst the other teams remained fragmented and spread over the region's offices, thus making physical contact a problem. In comparison with Department A, therefore, his structure was less complete, and yet the morale of his workers

was much higher than that of the other Department's staff. Although many of his senior appointments had not been officially made, the staff themselves had more or less decided informally who would be eligible or likely for these positions. Those eligible for the posts, or who wished to apply for these positions, took on the role responsibilities of senior staff unofficially. Whilst such action resulted in proportionally more work for these officers, it nonetheless offered them an opportunity to try out the job and to test their own suitability for it before any settlement had been made. Staff were, moreover, helped in this decision by the Director's own statements that senior field work posts would largely be offered to the existing field work staff in the department. In the absence of an official structure this was compensated for by the anticipatory occupation of the vacant senior posts by staff themselves, with the approval of the Director and the social work staff in the field. The lack of aggression from staff over the failures of staff appointments and resources lay in the fact that the Director had already prepared staff to meet these difficulties and had evidenced his own personal concern of these difficulties to staff. Moreover, it was the Director's long-term goals and the quality of the people who surrounded him at executive level and the image of the department at large as 'progressive' which acted as compensatory devices in the situation. Social work staff also compared their own work position to that of the neighbouring department A and drew comfort from the fact that they had a Director who was an able leader. The fact that he had demonstrated his capabilities

in the recent past gave social workers the confidence to view the situation as temporary.

Moreover, through their conversations with other social workers from other departments, the staff in Department B were able to judge the pace of development in their own department as compared with that in other authorities. As a result, staff were able to take a broader view of the situation than might have been possible had they been isolated from other groups or had the feedback on their situation been less favourable. It was this direct comparison, together with their previous experience with the Director prior to the changeover, which helped sustain their confidence during rhe transition period:

> "Did you hear that the Probation Officers met X (Director of Department A) to discuss conditions of service? First time they had met him in months. Discussing the sorts of things that we had settled months ago.
>
> I was talking to .... and .... yesterday lunch-time. They were flaming mad about the lack of information at the meeting on what was expected of them and what they could expect from the department."

The Director had also introduced by the time of the second stage of the study a departmental newssheet for staff. The objective of the paper was to help compensate for the geographical separation of staff over the regional areas covered by the department and also to keep staff informed of what was and was not taking place. The content and the manner of presentation

of the paper were both humourous and informative, and whilst staff had their attention drawn to the difficulties besetting the department and the service, the presentation encouraged staff to smile at their predicament rather than become hostile towards it. The first editorial began as follows:

> ".....is the All Seeing Eye of .....Social Work Department. It notices if you're hired or fired, promoted or married, evicted or jailed, and is nosey about your public and private life while you're here. Its increasing circulation is eloquent proof of its ascendency over its nearest rivals - gossip, eavesdropping and illicit telephoning."

All members of staff could make a contribution to the sheet, which came out every two weeks. It remained a useful tool, both for informing staff and letting off steam in the situation, as well as drawing the department as a whole together.

CONCLUSION:

The foregoing data on the work of two Social Work Directors, each involved in supervising and directing the setting-up of a new Social Work Department over the same period of time - July 1969 to February 1970 - indicates quite marked differences in performance and leadership style adopted by each Director. If leadership is interpreted in the terms used by Burns and Stalker, as the ability to ensure that the values and objectives of the organisation are known and agreed upon, and that an organisation is established which is capable of meeting these objectives, then on that criterion, only the Director of Department B could be seen as in any way to have established the 'mission' of the organisation, or to have communicated with his staff in a language which they shared

and in terms which they could accept. That Director, from the outset, made a conscious attempt to involve his staff in his plans for the new department, and to involve staff in determining and accepting the new demands which would be made upon them as multi-purpose social workers. The Director of Department A, on the other hand, was extremely remote from his staff and less decisive as to the policy and/orobjectives of the new service organisation, or had not made these objectives clear to his staff.

NeitherSocial Work Director had been able to establish a full complement of staff or to fill all the senior posts in their respective departments, but in Department B such things as appointments and accommodation stood out precisely because so much else had already been settled, whereas in Department A, these things were only a part of the wider range of problems which remained unresolved for staff. However, as Newton has pointed out, in social work agencies at least, it is not simply what is said and done, but the manner in which it is said and done which is important to the social work staff.[14] The Director of Department A chose to operate exclusively through his headquarters staff from the outset of his appointment, and had literally avoided personal contact with field work staff on the various issues and problems which arose in preparing the way for the new service structure. One result of this action was that his motives and the decisions which he reached were held suspect by the staff. The Director of Department B, on the other hand, operated for a period of months on a face-to-face contact basis

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14 G. Newton 'Adapting to Change', pp.3-7

with field work staff at all levels, and had built up a set of relationships and confidences among staff. To some extent, however, this decision may have been placed on the Director, in as much as he did not wish to consult staff through the then existing heads of the different specialist agencies. To have chosen to do so might have conveyed an impression, and perhaps even a legitimate claim, that these senior specialists would also form his top administrative staff in the new service. In fact, the Director had his own personal associates earmarked for these top positions. The situation, therefore, left him little alternative than to 'go it alone' and consult directly with all staff, regardless of rank, and to ensure that his message for the whole department came over as he intended. He attempted to do this by speaking the language of the social workers and indicating that he was aware of their professional views in the situation and that he himself shared these professional concerns.

The Director of Department B had also been conscious of the necessity to develop a new ideology for staff on which to operate in the new set-up. An ideology which contained the same professional concern for the client, but with a broader area of responsibility. He held out the prospect of change as exciting and challenging; as beneficial, both for the worker and to the client. The Department A Director, for his part, ignored the necessity for redefining the situation of the worker in professional social work terms, but instead conveyed his demands through essentially administrative and mechanical means, such as memos. to staff and orders for certain categories of work to be undertaken (the courts) or virtually dropped (Mental Health)

by staff in his department. Yarrow states that the development of new norms in the situation of change is facilitated if what is "appropriate" and "expected" in the situation is clarified immediately by the leader, and that, in this instance, the personal qualities of the leader are of major importance.However, real difficulties existed as to what constitutes "appropriate" norms and behaviour in the situation. Certainly, the same situation appeared to be defined differently by both field staff and the Director in Department A. Whilst field staff were looking for personal involvement and information regarding the professional development of the department and the service, the Director, for his part, was mainly concerned with administrative issues and with preserving a front for the department in the face of external criticism from other related bodies. Moreover, even with these concerns he was not forthcoming in informing staff as to the decisions being made or the reasons which were behind such decisions. His apparent lack of sensitivity to the needs of providing a context in which the social work staff could continue to validate a professional concept of self and, more particularly, a generic view of their work, gave rise to situations like those described by Strauss and others, where conflicts arose in the workers as to the priorities which were established in their work. As late as February 1970, Department A social workers were still largely ignorant of the policy and objectives of the Director and his department; whilst as early

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M.R.Yarrow et al. 'Interpersonal Change, Process and Theory',p60 Journal of Social Issues No.14, 1958.

Strauss et al.'Psychiatric Ideologies and Institutions' pp.144-7

as one month prior to the changeover taking place, Department B social work staff were knowledgeable about the broad goals and policy objectives of their department and, moreover, had been encouraged to develop a wider set of professional commitments which would facilitate the achievement of these new departmental goals.

The two Directors of Departments A and B therefore confronted essentially the same problems in their roles, in quite different manners. The particular brand of leadership style, furthermore, was to influence the subsequent experiences and sets of satisfactions and dissatisfactions which social workers met with as they progressively moved into the new service structure. The impact of the different experience being reflected in how the two departments adapted to the change.

CHAPTER 7

THE CHANGEOVER.

The 17th November, 1969, marked the official opening of the new Social Work Departments in Scotland and the implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968. The changeover, however, had created a number of difficulties for many of the new departments, such as shortages of staff and expertise to cover all of the more important aspects of the work; purpose-built accommodation to house the new departments; and also client-related resources, such as residential accommodation and financial supports. The two departments studied here, certainly reflected many of these problems as late as eighteen months after the Act had come into force.

Under the transfer arrangements governing the changeover to the new Social Work Department structure and the 'One Door' concept of service to the client, the four specialist groups - Probation, Mental Health, Welfare and Child Care - were combined into larger social work units or departments. These new integrated Social Work Departments had been combined both for economic reasons and on the premise that such integration of staff would make for a better service to the client. As far as the specialist social workers involved in this study were concerned, they were hived-off into two larger Social Work Departments, one being located in an area with a large population, the other in a combined area with a total population of approximately 192,000. In each case the social work staff were invariably working for that local authority, but as specialists prior to the

change. For the majority of social workers the changeover meant not so much a change of locale, but of colleagues, accommodation, procedures and organisation structure.

At the time of the Second Stage of the study, the total number of social workers participating had fallen by almost one-third - from the original figure of 93 to 65, during an interim period of six months. Only two of the original respondents did not wish to continue in the study, the others had dropped out of the study because they had left their employing body. The reasons prompting their departure were family commitments; sickness; training, or another job elsewhere. In any event, in February 1970, three months after the official changeover had taken place, the second stage of the research took place. The delay of several months between the first and second questionnaires and interviews was designed so that those involved in the change would have had time to get their bearings, and to allow time for the 'dust' to have settled after what was generally considered as a somewhat chaotic period. The second stage of the study was aimed at discovering what, if any, changes had occurred in the work roles of the former specialist groups, the nature of the new social work departments' structure and the impact of all these developments on the individual social worker's sense of work satisfaction, effectiveness and identity with the new role and social work service.

The sixty-five social workers remaining in the study were located in two separate Social Work Departments after the change. One group were employed by Department A, the other group were attached to Department B. Tests of significance were carried

out on the responses to questions put to all the four specialist groups within a department and between the two departments themselves. Since the majority of these tests indicated little difference between the specialist groups within either department, the findings relating to an entire department, that is, all the social workers, are presented and, where relevant, a more detailed breakdown of differences between the specialist groups is given, although there was no regular pattern in those differences which did emerge from the data. Only in those instances where the chi square was greater than .20 will such an elaboration of the findings be presented; otherwise, it is assumed that no great difference emerged between the groups in terms of their responses to questions relating to their experiences of the change.

Department A:

As the data will show, the differences between the two departments, in terms of the responses of staff to the effects of the change, were greater than any differences among the different specialist groups on the basis of their specialism alone. For this reason, data on each social work department is presented separately so that comparisons can be made. The breakdown of specialist staff in Department A was as follows:

Probation Staff	8	(3 more were training)
Mental Health Staff	3	(a fourth was off sick)
Welfare Staff	8	
Child Care Staff	26	(2 more were training)
Total Staff present	45	(absentees 6, TOTAL 51)

Only those members of staff who were actually present in the department at the time of the change took part in this stage of the study. The plan of the study was simply to determine

the nature of the particular sets of Contributions and Inducements which appeared to be operating in the situation. These particular sets of Contributions centred on the new role obligations which the various specialist groups had been obliged to undertake, whilst the Inducements referred to the sets of incentives made available through the department to the worker, which were designed to make the move more attractive. The presentation of the data on the department, therefore, is broken down into these two broad aspects of the worker's role, with the data on Contributions being offered first.

Contributions:

The motivation of the worker to enter an organisation might be considered important, in so far as his orientations towards the work could be expected to influence what he himself considered as relevant experiences in the situation, and would also influence his decision to remain in that organisation. (Goldthorpe et al. Daniel). For social workers in Department A, the most important factor given by the majority of staff in explaining their entry into the new service was the compulsory nature of the transfer which had been brought about by the reorganisation and amalgamation of local authority social work staff. Only 8.8% of the staff saw their entry into the new department as an interesting or challenging experience; for the majority to move was involuntary on their part, and was rather the result of some political decision made elsewhere.

Goldthorpe et al. 'The Affluent Worker', Cht.7
W.W.Daniel 'Understanding Employee Behaviour in its Context' in Man and Organisation, J. Child (Ed.)

Entry into the new department had brought with it a new definition of their role. This re-definition involved not merely a change in the title of the job, i.e. from specialist to Social Worker, but also involved the staff in undertaking a wider range of social work problems and activities. 80% of social workers in Department A listed inclusion of these novel aspects of the work as being the most significant change to have affected them. Moreover, the majority of staff (73.3%) stated that these new responsibilities had not been sought out by themselves, but had been delegated to them by the Department. Only 19.9% of the social work staff believed that there had been no great change in the work role, and whilst this difference was not statistically significant, these officers were slightly more likely to be located in the former Probation and Child Care fields.

Given that these social workers did not themselves seek out the move to the new department, nor a re-definition of their role as social workers, it would seem that in the absence of any attempts to re-orient the thinking of staff as to the desirability of the changeover, the new role demands might be expected to generate a certain resistance on the part of some members of the staff. (Coch and French) and would make the desired changes ineffective in their implementation. (Lewin). Social workers had previously indicated that they would expect a good deal of consultation with the management over how their services would be used by their departments. This expectation on the part of the social work staff arose out of their emotional

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Coch and French. op.cit.
Lewin. op.cit.

and professional involvement in their work. Prior consultation was regarded as imperative in the social worker's ability to retain a sense of satisfaction and effectiveness in his or her role. The actual situation experienced by social work staff, however, in their introduction to the new role demands placed on them by the department, was such that few social workers attained the level of consultation that they had previously thought they were entitled to, and 42.1% stated that there had been virtually no consultation whatsoever with staff over the changes demanded in their roles. Ex-Child Care staff were somewhat more likely to feel the absence of prior consultation over changes directly affecting themselves in their work.

	Mental Health (N = 3)	Welfare (N = 8)	Probation (N = 8)	Child Care (N = 26)
No Consultation	-	-	-	23.1%

The ability of a group to make a favourable adaptation to changes in their work situation might be expected to be related to a variety of factors. Intuitively, those factors which possibly might be of significance in influencing how the worker might respond could be:

a) the degree to which these changes were viewed as either legitimate or inevitable, or both,

b) the amount of preparation social workers had received, and

c) the extent to which the change was regarded by the social worker as harmful or beneficial to his or her own sets of interests and commitments.

To the extent that the changeover had been presented to staff as both legitimate and inevitable, that social workers had been prepared for the resultant changes in their role and

orientation to the work; that the costs involved on the part of the worker had been few, or compensatory mechanisms had been introduced which were viewed as satisfactory by the worker; then to the extent that these different conditions had been met with, one might expect the changeover to occur with greater ease than where these conditions did not prevail.

In the case of these particular workers, there was no doubt that the change to the new social work department structure was an irreversible process and that their continued involvement in wider social work problems and activities was an inevitable outcome of their participation in that particular social work agency. Moreover, the fact that their own professional bodies (Probation excepted) had participated in the formulation of many of the ideas which went into the final legislation governing the change, lent a degree of legitimacy to the move. The new service was seen by the professional body to provide a more effective setting for the professional development of social work staff and for the treatment and support of clients.

The actual preparation of staff to meet with the demands of the new work situation, however, had been left to each local authority to work out for itself and, as such, could be expected to vary from one authority to another as the history of previous legislation relating to local authority services had shown. Moreover, the method of preparation undertaken by Department A differed, both in terms of the extent to which different preparatory devices were utilised, and the overall effectiveness of its preparation of staff from that carried out by Department B, as the data will demonstrate.

To some extent, the financial state of social workers in the move to the new service structure had been enhanced rather than impaired, as a result of the change. Statutory arrangements governed the transfer of staff from the specialist departments to the new service and were designed to protect the salaries of those involved by the change. However, these arrangements did not include the protection of status position, nor was it possible to ascertain at that time that financial payment could compensate staff for the loss of specialist identities and commitments. Yet these specialist commitments had motivated staff in at least three of the former specialist commitments to continue to remain in, and get satisfaction from, their respective jobs. The problematic conditions, therefore, lay in the degree of preparation social workers experienced for their new role and the extent to which this preparation and the Inducements available in the situation acted to make the social workers more receptive to the changes involved.

Newton states that preparation of staff is important when staff are expected to make significant changes in their work role activities and alter their identifications with particular sets of clients, and that what is required in the situation of change is the establishment of a new set of commitments, without which the workers' ability to make the necessary transition is hampered. As far as the social workers in this study were concerned, the preparation of staff lay officially with the Directors and, as such, was a variable. Three possible types of input mechanisms were potentially available to the Director

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G. Newton. op.cit. p.7

of the Social Work Departments at that time, each method being used to alter the workers' values and orientation to the job from a specialist and narrow commitment to a multi-purpose, or generic, identity and concern for the work. These three possible methods of preparing staff which could be used either independently or in conjunction with one another were:

(1) official Meetings with the executive members of the department staff;

(2) Discussions concerning the change with executive staff, and

(3) Lecture input from external training bodies or individuals.

The extent to which these different methods were used in conjunction with one another, rather than in isolation, would, on the principle of reinforcement theories, be the more effective means of effecting change in the workers' attitudes, rather than simply in their behaviour.

Social work staff in Department A did not appear to have received any great amount of preparation for the changeover in terms of official Meetings between themselves and the Director and his executive staff. More than half of the social workers in the department stated that they had received very few, if any, official meetings designed to inform social workers or to prepare them in any way for the change. 33.3%, however, stated that they had had 'some' meetings, but these officers tended to be the more senior members of staff rather than belonging to a particular specialist branch of the former service. Of those who stated that they had received little preparation in the form of official meetings, the former Child Care staff were the more prominent

($\chi^2 \simeq 4.84$; df=3 ; $p < .20$)

The situation concerning Discussions between social work staff and the executive in Department A was even more bleak, with 62.2% of the staff stating that they had received little or no fresh input since the previous intefview some four months prior to Stage Two of the study, during which time social workers and the executive had been unable to exchange views concerning the implications and meanings of the change.

The least utilised method of informing staff on the nature and meaning of the change was the Lecture situation. 86.6% of staff stated that they had received no fresh lecture input since the changeover actually took place.

The overall situation in Department was one in which a good many of the staff had received very little by way of official preparation for the changes demanded in their work by any of the methods listed above. Those who had been more favoured in this respect were more likely to be among senior staff members rather than to belong to any specialist group, although the ex-Child Care staff were more likely to see themselves as having the least amount of preparation from the department for the change. Less than 10% of the entire group of social workers in the department believed that they had received what they regarded as a 'lot' of preparation on the change from any of the considered input methods.

Apart from these official or formal get-togethers between staff and the executive as input points at which to inform staff on the nature of the changeover, another important means of preparing staff for the demands of the new work situation existed in the day-to-day communication system which operated at both

hierarchial and horizontal levels and which served to inform staff of their obligations and position within the department. Indeed, the importance of the communication structure of the departments as a means of clarifying tasks and objectives had been stressed by the professional body. (Davies, Smith) and others (Schultz). The position of social work staff in Department A, however, was such that communication at both hierarchical and horizontal levels were still far from effective. 88.8% of social workers in that department stated that the Vertical lines of communication between themselves and the Director and his executive staff were 'poor', and whilst horizontal communications amongst staff themselves were better than those with the executive, 42.1% of the staff complained of the poor communications among field staff in the new department.

The importance of communication lies in the fact that they act to provide the individual in the situation with information which, in turn, may affect the meanings which he attaches to his own role and perhaps also those meanings which he applies to the organisation itself. One major source of meanings in the situation was to be found in the policy of the organisation. The policy is important in that it not only establishes the official objectives of the organisation, but also limits the legitimate activities which the individual is encouraged to engage in as an employee of the department and the sources of satisfaction he will be ebcouraged to seek in his work. In Department A, however,

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C. Davies - 'Reaction to Change in Social Services Departments', p.334, in Case Conference 1968.
G. Smith - 'Some Research Implications of Seebohm Report', p.297
A. Schultz- 'The Ehenomenology of the Social World', p.150, 1972

there was a decided absence of company policy for the staff in terms of the long- or short-termsobjectives of the department. 75.5% of the social workers stated that they knew 'very little' or 'nothing' about the policy of the new department. No difference emerged among the specialist groups in terms of their response to this question. The absence of knowledge on the objectives of the department, either in terms of the overall aims for the service or the use of its social work staff, unfortunately coincided with that period in the change where the physical change of the structure and location of the department offices and the removal of specialist titles made such communications appear all the more vital to social work staff. The only general piece of information held by the social work staff was the requirement for all social workers to become actively engaged in a wider range ofproblems and with different categories of clientele than had previously been the case in their former specialist setting. Moreover, that information had not come from the executive of the department, but was regarded by the social work profession generally as concomitant with the move to the new social work service structure.

The Multi-Purpose Social Worker:

Entry into the new department had brought with it quite radical changes in the work-role of the majority of the social workers. These changes not only involved a broadening of their activities, but also required a change in their orientation towards the job - from specialist to generic social worker. However, it had been the experience of these officers in their

previous specialist role that they had required to feel personally suited to the work, and to be trained for the role before they could establish a sense of competence and confidence in themselves and their ability to do the job. Moreover, such competence was regarded by these specialist social workers as being an important source of personal satisfaction of the worker in the field. The change to a new type social work role with different activities and areas of responsibility and interests immediately gave rise to the question of whether the specialist social workers' sense of suitability for the work and competence in the job would continue to operate under these altered conditions.

Only 51% of social work staff in Department A were confident that they possessed the necessary qualities which would make up the 'good' all-round generic social worker. (Such qualities being left undefined by the researcher). The other members of staff were either uncertain of their possession of these qualities (33.3%) or were of the opinion that they themselves did not have these qualities (15.5%). Although not statistically significant, the members of the former Welfare group were somewhat less confident of their possession of these personal attributes. Much more marked, however, was the sense of a lack of fit between the personality of the social worker and the demands of the new work-role, whereas in the former specialist setting, social workers believed the demands of the job and their own personal qualities were very much more in agreement.

If social workers in the department had been less confident in the possession of the required qualities for the Multi-purpose role, they were even more pessimistic as to the suitability of the prior specialist training in a generic situation. 73.3% of these social workers stated that they did not see themselves equipped by their training to undertake their new social work role, and a further 8.8% were uncertain of their ability to do so. No significant difference emerged in the response to these questions between the different specialist groups. ($X^2 = 1.44; df=3; p<.70$). The situation now was one where social workers who had previously believed themselves to be personally suited for their work and often highly trained for their specialist role, now found themselves in a position where they were less certain of their contribution to the new service.

In their previous specialist role, the social workers' ability to experience a sense of competence in the situation had been largely determined by the workers' training for the work, and this, supported by their sense of personal suitability for the job. In the new situation, however, prior specialist training was not generally regarded by these social workers as equipping them for their new Multi-purpose-type role. The only immediately available substitute for actual generic training lay in these specialist workers undergoing some in-service training; that is, acquiring a grasp of the actual workings and procedures of the novel aspects of the work within the department itself.

The concept of social workers developing in a professional

sense within the confines of their agency was not a new one and an acceptance of the principle of in-service training had already been established in social work agencies even prior to the move. (Scott).

The emphasis of retraining was on the mechanics of the new tasks, rather than casework, as the social work professional leaders who had supported the move to the new service had assured social work staff that the casework method was a constant for all the different specialist bodies and, as such, would not pose difficulties for staff involved in the change. One could hypothesise that if competence in the work situation was related to training for the work, then the more familiar these social workers became with the procedures and practices governing these new areas of work, the more competent they would feel themselves to be.

Not unexpectedly, all of the social workers in the department were more competent in dealing with work relating to their former specialism than when dealing with the novel areas of their work. Indeed, the impression was conveyed that the confidence levels of some former specialist workers was even greater after the changeover than was the case before it. One possible explanation for this development was that these former specialist workers now had outsiders, i.e. non-specialists, with whom to compare their performance levels, rather than other specialist professionals, as had been the situation in the past. In any event, all groups felt more able to take on work arising from a former specialist area and to be more confident in

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W.R.Scott. op.cit. pp.90-113.

handling these problems. Their knowledge of the workings and procedures relating to the other specialist fields, however, continued to remain undeveloped, although these social workers had been four months in the service of the new department.

Almost 65% of NON-Probation staff (N=37) knew little or nothing of the activities and procedures relating to Probation work; half of the NON-Child Care staff (N=19) were ignorant of procedures attached to Child Care work; 78.5% of NON-Mental Health staff (N=42) had no knowledge of the procedures and operations governing Mental Health work; and approximately 60% of the NON-Welfare staff (N=37) had little information of the workings of the Welfare branch of the service. The majority of social work staff, therefore, appeared to be able to contribute little more than their own specialist skills and knowledge to the new department, and relatively few had become familiar with the work of other specialist fields during the four months spent in the new department. This general lack of familiarity with the other branches of the service which had, nevertheless, become an official part of the social worker's remit, had the result of making at least 80% of the staff question their own sense of competency in their new work situation. As a result of the change-over to the new generic role, social work staff now found themselves in a situation where their sense of confidence and suitability for their work had become undermined and, as such, social workers had lost an important source of intrinsic job satisfaction in the new role.

Given the relatively low level of competence and training which these social workers saw themselves to possess in the new

work situation, some form of instruction and re-training appeared to be imperative. Indeed, over half of the entire staff (55.4%) expressed the desire for much more instruction and supervision in their work. In this respect, however, some difference did emerge among the different specialist groups, with former Probation Officers less likely to want such supervision and instruction, and former Child Care Officers more likely to want such guidance in their work ($\chi^2=6.89; df=3; p<.10$). With the majority of staff being generally unfamiliar with any area other than their own previous specialist area, and given the drop in confidence among staff and the desire expressed by more than half the group for more instruction and supervision in their work, the question arose as to who would be responsible for such re-training. Who would be called upon in the situation appeared to be influenced by several factors; for example, was such training regarded by the Director and his executive as an official remit of the department and, if so, was such re-training built into the organisation itself; who in the department would be assigned to the task of transmitting such information and guidance; and what were the attitudes of the social work staff to those who had been assigned to the training task?

In Department A, in-service training was not regarded as an official responsibility or particular exercise to be conducted with staff. Social workers were expected to acquire their new expertise and knowledge as a result of doing the job, although some support would be available from the senior staff. The absence of an official training programme and the lack of clarity regarding the role responsibilities of senior members of staff

in this area of re-training exerted an influence on how the worker's training actually progressed in the department. Given that there were no set times allocated to the social work staff for acquiring the new knowledge for their role, learning was piecemeal and essentially problem-centred. The social worker allocated a particular case outwith his or her specialism would consult on that case rather than learn the theory, philosophy and procedures of the specialist activity as a whole. Moreover, in deciding who would be consulted in the learning situation, social workers were prompted to search for those members of staff who possessed the relevant information. The worker's choice of informant invariably took them to a fellow colleague who had formerly specialised in the problematic area, rather than to their official senior. 71.1% of social workers in Department A obtained instruction and information from a colleague rather than from a seniormember of staff. Moreover, even when confronted with difficulties arising out of the work, social workers were only slightly more likely to consult a senior before a former specialist colleague. The relative absence of requests to senior staff lay essentially in the social worker's belief that few senior members of staff possessed the specialist knowledge required by the worker, or did not have aprofessional view of the work. Added to this was the lack of familiarity between basic grade and the new senior staff, so that a degree of confidence in the new seniors had still to be attained. Likewise, new colleagues, whilst useful as informants on specialist procedures, were least likely to

be turned to for support by a social worker beset by difficulties in his or her work.

The situation in the new department, therefore, was one in which re-training was not official built into the system of organisation, nor was it typically something which senior social workers took upon themselves as forming an integral part of their role. Instruction developed in a more precarious manner among the basic grade staff themselves and, as such, moved away from the official control of the organisation, and certainly from the notion of 'professional' development as itself being an outcome of the change to the new service structure.

The absence of requisite knowledge of the procedures and activities governing the different specialist aspects of the new generic role presented the social workers who had been obliged to take on this new, enlarged commitment with a number of difficulties, both practical and attitudinal in nature. Almost TWO-THIRDS of the social workers in the field (64.3%) viewed the idea of the Multi-purpose social worker as decidedly IMPRACTICABLE. A further 24.3% saw the new generic role as working against the natural specialist interest of the social worker, and 13.3% as detrimental to the client. Only 15.5% of social work staff viewed the idea of the new generic role as desirable and practical. Some social workers (24.3%), whilst rejecting the idea for themselves, were somewhat more hopeful for future social workess, provided that the deficiencies of the existing situation could be compensated for in the training of the new social work entrants. How these

officers felt is more clearly expressed in their own statements concerning the desirability or otherwise of the new generic role:

"I do not feel that anyone could be expected to be proficient in all four of the former sectors. Nor could he honestly expect to be able to handle every type of client, regardless of disciplinary category into which they might fall. Social workers are human and, as such, they have their likes and hates."

"I personally cannot see anyone being an effective Multi-purpose social worker; at least for quite some time, because the training provided to present social workers has not equipped them for this role and no provision seems to have been made for rectifying this problem."

"Not practical. The Multi-purpose group seems feasible, but social workers are keen to continue working within their own specialisms."

"Not on! Personality comes into it; for example: "Probation Man", "Child Care Worker", "Mental Health chap". Need specialists with knowledge."

"Not very practical as personalities are suitable for different types of work and one tends to have greater enthusiasm for certain areas."

"I feel there will always be social workers who are better equipped personality-wise, and who

feel more comfortable in specific areas, and as far as possible they should be allowed to work this way if they are going to be happier; more effective."

"It is practical for future social workers, because their training will be geared to this. It is less practical for those of us who have not been so conditioned."

The data on the attitudes expressed by social workers from each of the different specialisms to the concept and practice of the Multi-purpose social work role, together with some of the statements made by these officers on the subject, illustrates one of the basic assumptions of the study; namely, that certain professional activities or roles generate certain images and contain certain ideologies which act to attract or repel individuals to that particular type of work. In the case of many of these various specialist members of staff, the image and the nature of their former specialist role was seen as striking some personal chord in the individual. Moreover, the philosophy of social work itself had expressedly stressed the importance for the worker of locating precisely this degree of self-expression in his or her work. From the foregoing statements, however, it is apparent that for almost two-thirds of the staff, such intrinsic satisfactions were NOT seen as likely to emerge from the social worker's involvement in a variety of specialisms, other than his or her own. The demands of the new role Contributions, therefore, had interfered with certain important sets of Inducements which had previously operated for

many of these specialist workers prior to the changeover to the new service structure. In the absence of these specialist work Inducements being available to the same degree for the social work staff in the new department, the question of some balance between Contributions made by the worker and rewards received for his efforts prompted the search for the particular Inducements which were proferred by management to the social workers and the consideration of whether these new sets of Inducements were sufficient in nature to compensate for the changes made in the social worker's role.

Inducements:

March and Simon state that on occasions where there has been a substantial change in the role Contributions demanded of participants in the organisation, compensatory mechanisms must be introduced in order to maintain the exchange relationship which had previously existed between the organisation and the worker, such compensatory mechanisms being necessary if the organisation wished to retain its labour force. In the case of Scottish social workers employed in local authority Social Work Departments, the change to the new structure had entailed quite radical demands on the social workers which necessitated both a change in their orientation towards the job and the actual range of problems which they were now called upon to undertake by virtue of their new generic role. As previously stated in this chapter, the salary scales of social workers had been improved in an attempt to reduce anomalies which existed in the pay scales among the different

specialist groups, and also to help sweeten the move to the new service for staff involved in the changeover. Other sets of Inducements which had been operating in the previous specialist departments, such as social status in the community, personal work status in the organisation, a sense of purpose and belonging, ability to control one's area of work, good on-the-job relationships and, more generally, work which did not clash with the private and personal interests of the worker. All of these sets of Inducements could not have been written into the procedures governing the transfer of staff. Nevertheless, these Inducements had been important to the specialist social work staff, and one might reasonably expect that these social workers would be concerned to see these same expectations met in the new work situation.

Salary:

Generally speaking the social workers in Department A were not particularly impressed with the new pay scale which they had received as a result of transferring into the new service. Only 28.8% were satisfied with their pay scale. Conversely, 53.2% stated that there was considerable room for improvement in the rate ofpay received. Statutory minimum scales had been worked out for all trained social work staff, but the department had allowed differentials to creep in, both between trained workers with similar qualifications and length of service and also between the trained and untrained members of staff. The problem was exacerbated by the fact that all basic grade social workers, trained and untrained, were carrying similar caseloads

in terms of size and problems, if not in terms of specialism. The view stated by many of the staff was that equal work deserved equal pay. Whilst differentials in pay scales between the trained and untrained members of staff had some legitimate basis for the anomalies, this was not the situation which existed among the differentials in pay scales for trained social workers of similar qualifications and experience. Moreover, there appeared to be no rational pattern which social workers themselves could establish which might serve to explain the differences.

Salary scales, therefore, operated to engender a sense of frustration and distrust among staff. Social workers were curious as to the pay of their colleagues, but were reluctant to disclose their own scale in case this disclosure would work to their own disadvantage. Monetary inducements preparing social workers to accept the new role demands of the service were generally regarded by social workers as being somewhat inefficient in providing incentives to staff in either making the transition to a generic role or in establishing a sense of confidence in the administration of the department itself.

Status:

Prior to the changeover, the different specialist groups saw themselves and their work as providing certain benefits for the client and the community, and as generating particular images in the public mind concerning the nature of their work and of the people operating in that service area. After the changeover, however, the former Probation group were most likely to express the view that their 'professional image' had

deteriorated as a result of the changeover.

In terms of the work status of individual social workers, some small differences emerged among the specialist groups as to their level of satisfaction with, and experience of, the change. Whilst the majority of social workers did not experience any great change in their personal work status, a comparison of the four groups indicated that the former Mental Health and Probation staff were somewhat more likely to hold the views that their status had fallen as a result of the move into the new department. The following table illustrates this point:

% of Staff who felt their status had fallen

Mental Health (N = 3)	Welfare (N = 8)	Probation (N = 8)	Child Care (N = 26)
66.6%	-	37.5%	7.7%

Not surprisingly, those individuals who believed that their status had suffered as a result of the changeover were less satisfied with their new status than those who believed that they had maintained or improved their personal status as a result of the move. Again, the Mental Health and Probation staff differed from the Welfare and Child Care staff in their attitudes to the situation, with the former officers being relatively less satisfied with their new-found status.

Dissatisfaction with new work status

Mental Health (N = 3)	Welfare (N = 8)	Probation (N = 8)	Child Care (N = 26)
66.6%	-	50%	19.2%

No difference emerged among the four specialist groups in terms of their views of the effect of the changeover on the status of their former specialist colleagues. The majority of social workers believed that their colleagues had lost status as a result of the move. ($\chi^2 = 1.78$; $df = 3$; $p < .70$). The Probation and Mental Health staff were also more likely than the other groups to see their personal and their

professional image being jointly linked, and also to have jointly deteriorated with the move into the new service structure. Other groups, particularly Child Care staff, were more likely to have experienced some improvement in personal work status and to view their former Child Care colleagues as maintaining their group position under the Changeover arrangements.

In terms of Inducements to staff to both enter and remain in the new departments, very few staff appeared to have experienced any great advance in their personal social image or work status within the department, and for those who did experience such gains, their advancement was balanced by those officers whose position had deteriorated with the move. The suggestion contained in the social work literature that the new department structure would increase the career opportunities available to social workers had not as yet begun to make a favourable impact on the careers of these individual officers. Moreover, for the former Probation staff the changeover experience was regarded as far from beneficial.

The view held by at least one specialist group that they had lost out in the change immediately raised the possibility that some other group had possibly benefited more than the others. The former Child Care group were least likely to hold the view that any group of officers had benefited more from the changeover than others. However, the view of the other specialist groups was that one group had benefited by the change, and that particular group was the Child Care staff. Certainly, former Child Care staff were somewhat more likely

than the other specialist groups to have experienced some personal advance in work status. The fact that few status rewards had been experienced by the majority of social workers and that one group (the ex-Child Care) had been seen as benefiting from the changeover, served to create a sense of competitiveness, and even conflict, for some members of staff. The notion that the new structure would provide a much better career structure for social workers had not been experienced as such, and for certain individuals in Mental Health very few career advantages existed in the new situation.

Control over Work Role:

Whilst pay and status did not appear to feature to any great extent as incentives to remain in, and to become committed to, the new organisation, other sets of Inducements of a non-material nature could possibly serve as sources of satisfaction with the job. It has been suggested in the previous chapters that the ability of the social worker to validate his or her concept of self as a 'social worker' and as a 'professional person' could be regarded as an important set of Inducements for social workers to remain with the organisation. Those areas previously cited as important for social workers to exercise some control over were given as: Client Supervision, Time-tabling and Correspondence. However, because it has been previously demonstrated that many of the former specialist social workers social workers had a strong sense of personal commitment to their specialist role, and as one hypothesis of this study is that such workers would seek to

retain that interest, a fourth category has been added: namely, that social workers would seek to control the Area of Work, or the specialist nature of the cases held by them.

The vast majority of social workers from every discipline stated that they had had a 'good deal' of personal control over the Supervision of clients on their caseloads (86.6%). A further 11% had at least 'some' control over this important area of their work. The ability of social workers to maintain a degree of control over this area of their work can be considered important, since it is through the relationship which the social worker attempts to establish with his or her client that the social worker is able to validate his or her self-concept as both helper and worker.

Little difference emerged among the former specialist groups in terms of the degree of control which each exercised over the scheduling of their respective work activities. However, when compared with the degree of control exercised in the supervision of clients, control over Time-tabling of the social worker's tasks was much less. 64.3% of staff had a 'good deal' of control over the scheduling of their work; 24.3% had 'some' control and only 8.8% had 'little' or 'no control' over the organisation of their duties. The slight difference which emerged between the different specialist groups in this area was related to the fact that the ex-Welfare workers, who had slightly more control, also tended to specialise in Welfare-type work, which also tended to be the most easily routinised work conducted by any of the former specialist bodies. The Welfare group's ability to exercise a degree of control in the

situation, therefore, rested less on their respective power or influence in the situation and more on the actual nature and requirements of the work itself.

No difference existed among the groups in terms of their ability to handle correspondence with either client or other bodies. 92.3% of staff stated that they had a 'good deal' of control in that area.

High agreement also existed among the different groups in terms of the degree of control each felt able to exercise over the Area of Work which was assigned to the individual worker. However, the actual control which the social workers believed that they possessed in the situation was the lowest recorded for any of the foregoing aspects of their work. Only 57.6% of social workers saw themselves as having a 'Good Deal' of control over the type of work they were called upon to undertake in the department, and 31% stated that they had 'Little' or 'No' control over the work distributed to themselves. (X^2 =.68; df=3; p<.90.)

With the exception of the types of cases received, social workers in Department A had a relatively high degree of personal control over their work. However, the concern of the majority of social workers was less with the types of cases which they had received, but rather more with the volume of cases which they had been obliged to take on to their caseload in the new service. Very few social workers were concerned at this stage of the change to exercise control over the types of cases being referred to them by the senior members of staff (13.3%). The majority of social workers (86.6%) were concerned

more with their increasing inability to control the numbers of cases they received into their total caseload.

The situation for the majority of social workers in the new department was the continuation of a number of controls which they had previously exercised as specialists in their former agencies, and in the case of the ex-Welfare staff, the controls were even greater than before the change. 94.5% of social workers stated that they had received a "Good Deal" of responsibility from seniors to do the work as the social workers themselves saw fit and, in the main, social work staff accepted the arrangement. (χ^2 = 1.53% ; df = 3 ; $p < .7$). The former Probation group, however, were somewhat more likely to be critical of this arrangement and the Welfare and Child Care groups more receptive to the allocation of responsibility in this way. The criticisms of the former Probation staff to the arrangement were on the basis that, given the volume of work and the difficult nature of the work, basic grade staff had been given too much responsibility. These officers were also suspicious that with such responsibility went accountability for failures or breakdowns in the service to the client, and that such accountability should be shared by the senior staff who were responsible for allocating the work in the first instance. Whilst social workers had a good deal of overall control over their work situation, the problems which the new situation presented the worker with had also risen as a result of entry into the new department structure.

Other Role Relationships:

March and Simon had stated that the ability of workers to rely on the support of colleagues was an important source of satisfaction for the worker in his job. Certainly, in the case of social workers involved in the transfer to the new service structure, the integration of staff had been projected as providing welcomed opportunities to get to know other specialist workers and, more importantly, for broadening the knowledge baseof existing specialist social workers and thereby developing the social worker professionally. Indeed, the whole concept of integration demanded that this type of learning experience would result from the change. The changeover, therefore, had been officially presented in social work journals as a challenge and as an Inducement for making the move into the new service structure.

The majority of social workers from all specialisms did, in fact, appear to have enjoyed the experience of having worked alongside other specialist workers as colleagues (86.6%). However, the beneficial effects (which had been anticipated as a result of such integration) had not yet become clear. In fact, the situation was one in which more social workers saw themselves as being less effective in their role (39.9%) than more effective (28.8%) as a result of becoming associated with the other specialist groups. No difference emerged among the various groups in terms of their response to the new work experience, either in becoming more or less effective as social workers. (χ^2 =3.123; df=6; p<.80)

The beneficial effects of integration had, as yet, not occurred to any great extent for the social workers in Department A. However, whilst the department had been in operation officially for more than four months, the social workers in the department had only been integrated into mixed social work teams for two months of that period, so that the favourable impact of the integration exercise still had time to develop. Indeed, it was with this view of the developmental nature of the impact of the change that the design of the study into different stages had been decided.

Apart from using colleagues as a means of learning in the situation, colleagues are also important in terms of the support and co-operation which they can offer the individual worker. Studies on the information social relationships among workers in a variety of organisational contexts have attested, time and time again, to the importance of these peer group relationships. (Strauss et al. Etzioni, Leonard, Blau). Certainly, each specialist group in its previous work situation had been quite fortunate in the degree of co-operation generally experienced from colleagues. However, the new service had restructured the different social workers in such a way as to ensure a mixture of specialist skills within any one team, but this decision had, of course, entailed the break-up of many of the previously-existing relationships of specialist colleagues.

Strauss et al. 'Professional Ideologies and Constitutions' pp.143-9
A. Etzioni 'Modern Organisations', p.35
P. Blau 'The Dynamics of Bureaucracy', pp.156-164, 1963.
P. Leonard 'Sociology in Social Work', p.42, 1966.

In spite of the fact that each team had only been in operation as such for just over two months, confidence in the co-operation of new colleagues was extremely high. 80% of social workers stated that they could 'Nearly Always' rely on their new colleagues in the department. This degree of confidence compared favourably with that held by the staff of their earlier relationships in a specialist agency. However, the former Child Care staff were somewhat more apprehensive about any possible lack of co-operation among staff in the new situation. ($X^2=4.69$; df=3; p(.20). For the majority of social workers, therefore, the new work situation had brought forth a favourable degree of co-operation from the different specialist workers, although the novelty of the relationships was still such that full confidence in obtaining support had still to be established, at least for the former Child Care Officers.

Senior members of staff can also be considered important in the workers' role relationships, as they are largely responsible for the typeof work which social workers are called upon to undertake on behalf of the department. Seniors are similar to foremen in other organisations, in as much as they represent first line supervision and immediate personal contact with authority in the organisation. In Department A, social workers generally regarded their senior members of staff as approachable persons, but nevertheless, these same social workers were prepared to by-pass the senior when seeking instruction or a solution to some difficulty in their work. This lack of utilisation of senior staff typified much of the evidence

collected on the relationship between foremen and the other worker in industry (Trahair), and of seniors and workers in other welfare-type agencies (Blau. Scott). Social workers not only sought a degree of autonomy in the pursuit of their role, but also adopted a critical attitude when evaluating the competence and expertise of senior staff. Unfortunately, many senior members of staff were regarded by social work staff as being proficient in only one area, which was, typically, their previous specialism, and, as such, were only useful when that type of problem arose, and then only if a colleague in that area could not provide the information needed by the worker. Senior members of staff, whilst acceptable as people, were less instrumentally or emotionally significant to basic grade staff than were their peers. As such informal relationships between staff and senior colleagues lacked the same intensity and meaning for the worker. Seniors were liked more for what they did not attempt to do in the situation, rather than for what they contributed to the social worker.

The new work situation involved social work staff in other aspects of the work, one of which was Probation-type work, involving relationships with the court. Probation Officers in the past had formed good working relationships with the courts and, indeed, this was regarded as necessary, since the social worker was providing a service to both the court and to the client. However, other social workers with less close contact

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P. Blau. op cit. pp.121-143.

W.R. Scott.op cit. pp.

R.C.S. Trahair. op cit (b) p.107
op cit (c) p.153

with the court might well be expected to hold different views of the importance of the court and the necessity for the worker to establish a degree of rapport with that body. Not surprisingly, the former Probation staff were more likely than any other group to believe in the continued co-operation of the courts for the new service. ($X^2 = 7.48$; df=3; $p < .10$). Conversely, the ex-Child Care staff were more likely to be concerned by a lack of co-operation from the courts in their work. ($X^2 = 8.30$; df=3; $p < .05$). The latter view was possibly influenced by critical remarks made from the 'bench' that the sheriff of the court did not want any 'mini-skirted females' in his court as substitutes for the Probation staff and service. Child Care staff, being predominantly female, were more susceptible to the criticism.

Least confidence was given by social workers to the co-operation which they might expect from their clients in their work, with only 17.7% viewing the client as 'Nearly Always' co-operative. However, only 6.6% of social work staff saw their clients as being deliberately disruptive in the relationship. Moreover, whilst lack of co-operation from clients was disturbing for a number of social workers, the incidence of disturbance was no greater than that which had previously existed for the workers when they had operated in their specialist capacity.

The general level of security in these significant work relationships which the social workers held with colleagues, seniors, courts and clients, were almost on a par with those relationships previously experienced by themselves in their former agencies. However, the former Child Care group were

somewhat more concerned by the prospect of lack of co-operation from new colleagues and more threatened by the court/worker relationship, which, by virtue of their new generic role, confronted these officers in a more immediate and meaningful way. Even with these Child Care Officers, however, the general security levels were still quite good, albeit somewhat lower than that expressed by other specialist staff in the department.

DEPARTMENT A

Finally, the department itself can be viewed as presenting the social worker with Inducements of its own in terms of the image which the department generates for itself and the degree of fit which exists between that image and the worker's own personal sets of orientations to the job. Apart from material incentives, such good career prospects being associated with movement into a particular organisation, the organisation typically projects sets of images about the nature of its objectives, which, in the case of professional groups, can be expected to be an important set of considerations taken into account by the workers, and which will influence the workers' entry, or, in this instance, their continued participation in the department. Likewise, the image of the Director as being 'progressive' or otherwise could also be important in lending a particular flavour or image to a particular agency or department.

For the social workers in Department A, the department itself appeared to be particularly ineffective in establishing a positive identity in the minds of social work staff which

would operate as an Inducement for continued participation by staff. 46.6% of social workers, when asked what, if anything, their new department had to offer over what was available in other Scottish social work departments, stated that the new department had 'Nothing' to offer them in terms of incentives to remain. 13.3% of staff were, in any event, tied to the area for personal and family reasons, and saw this as the major determinant for remaining with the department. 22.1% stated that they were unaware that the new department had any attractive features whatsoever. Only 8.8% of staff saw the new department as providing them with the opportunity to take part in an exciting or challenging new development. The new department, therefore, had failed to capture the imagination and the commitments of its staff, and to establish any positive identity for itself in the minds of its workers. Social workers, when asked the question of 'What they liked most' in the new work situation provided by the department, also failed to establish sets of satisfactions which would single out the new department as being a desirable place in which to work. They found a number of aspects of the work attractive; for example, the variety of the work and the chance to learn other disciplines (48.8%), which was the most important set of factors. Next came good colleague relationships (22.1%) and contact with social workers from the other disciplines (11%). For a further 22.1%, however, there was nothing attractive about the new department or the work which entry into that department had entailed. Even considering those aspects which were regarded

favourably by staff, it becomes apparent that the new department had offered nothing original, since every new social work department was also at that time providing staff with the same opportunities to learn of other disciplines, and, perhaps more importantly from the point of view of staff, to learn these under more favourable conditions. Yet, this opportunity to learn other skills was the single most attractive feature of the work of the new department. The following statements should serve to illustrate something of the workers' views in the situation:

Q. 'What do you like most about your work in the new department?'

Ans. 'Opportunity to learn other disciplines.'

'Other types of cases, Welfare and Probation'

'I like the involvement in other aspects of social work besides that which I was previously engaged in. I enjoy discussion with colleages and am pleased with the co-operation, loyalty and attitude of team members.'

'To a certain extent I like the freedom and the possible chance of getting experience in other fields.'

'Very little. Mainly the co-operation of colleagues in the area team'

'Nothing at the moment.'

If social workers had been sparing in their choice of 'Likes' to be found in the work situation, they were much more expansive on the question of their 'Dislikes'. Many of these

dislikes could, in fact, be seen to be inter-related in some way. The most unattractive feature of the department, in terms of the weighting accorded by staff, was the department's inability to 'organise' or to 'administer' the service. 88.8% of social work staff were highly critical of the lack of administrative competence, which they attributed to the executive members of the organisation. Next came pressure of work (26.6%) and, perhaps as a result of this, the worker's inability to 'help' the clients (22.1%). Following this came shortage of staff (17.7%) and resources (15.5%) in the department which could provide greater opportunity for staff to operate as social workers in the professional sense of the term. Approximately a quarter of the social work staff complained, too, of the fact that they had been placed in a situation, both demanding and unfamiliar, where they had not been offered adequate preparation and support from their department executive. Again, statements of the staff themselves should help to convey more clearly the nature of some of the feelings generated in the work situation towards the work and to their employing agency:

Q. 'What do you dislike MOST about your job in the new Social Work Department?'

Ans. 'Complete lack of organisation in the central office. No one in central office seems prepared to accept responsibility for decision-making, and decisions made are passed on in a very authoritarian manner.'

'If there had been some preparation, I do not say more preparation, because there was NONE, for the

social workers and adequate organisation of administrative staff, many of the time-consuming problems which arose initially would not have happened and this would have given the department a better start.'

'What I dislike about the department is the present malaise and uncertainty of the future which was initially aggravated by what I've already said.'

'There is a definite lack of communication between the Headquarters staff and the Divisional Office. I dislike the hierarchical system which operates here with, in my opinion, too many top posts whilst there is a continual shortage of basic grade social workers. There is no in-service training to learn other aspects, procedures, resources available and so on.'

'Lack of communication from the top. Lack of more imaginative thinking, especially at the very top of the department.

Insecurity at the top inhibits the development of ideas at lower levels as it filters downwards.

Lack of professional identity of some at the top and the poor public image exhibited by the department's H.Q.

The development of "Them" and "Us" complex.'

'I dislike the fact that I am faced with new work experiences in the fields of probation and welfare without any reduction in my Child Care caseload. Subsequently, I find myself trying to learn new

casework skills whilst in a state of physical and mental exhaustion due to working at least ten hours a day.

I miss the closer supervision I received in the Children's Department, where I felt more secure.'

'Pressure. Lack of time, causing inability to do real work with people - families and individuals.'

'The pressure of work due to shortage of staff. Also feelings of inadequacy for the job.'

'The idea of being forced to be Multi-purpose.'

And, finally, from one ex-Mental Health Officer:

'No adequate career structure;

No short-term policy.

No long-term policy.

No opportunity to develop new skills.

No adequate casework service.

No time for supportive casework.

No adequate frames of reference for on-going social work.

Bad communications;

Etc.'

The data provided by social workers in Department A not only suggests the existence of few intrinsic sets of Inducements, but also the fact that for many of these people, the department generated unfavourable images of itself for the worker. The negative views were the outcome of the executive's inability - at least from the perspective of a number of the

social workers - to organise the work in such a manner as would alleviate or remove altogether some of the more important stressee which the new situation created for staff in terms of demands in their work-role, shortage of staff and other important resources necessary to complete the work.

If the department itself had little to offer by way of intrinsic Inducements for its social workers, it nevertheless continued to provide an important opening for those who wished to participate in the 'caring' profession of social work. The local authority, both before and after the changeover, was the major source of social work employment in the country. The fact that the new department continued to provide an avenue which enabled social workers to 'help people' could be seen as an important source of Inducement for people to continue to remain as employees of the new agency. This opportunity to work through the new department, however, would depend to a great extent on whether these former specialist workers continued to see their new work activities as important to the client of society. Indeed, 88.8% of all social workers believed in the continued importance of their work contribution. The reasons offered by staff as justification of the importance of the work, however, had altered - if only slightly - as a result of the change to the new social work system of providing help. The change in the social worker's view of his or her contribution essentially involved a change in emphasis away from the client or particular bategories of clientele, to the benefits which the work held for the community at large. 35.5% saw their contribution in community terms, and 33.3% emphasised

the client as being the main beneficiary of their services. Prior to the changeover, however, the emphasis of the worker had been more in the direction of the client. What appeared to have happened in the period between the first and second stages of the study was that the meanings of the work which were officially open to staff had undergone a marked change away from the client, and especially a specialist-type client commitment, to a more generalised concern for the community welfare. Such a change in emphasis was very much in keeping with the social work values set out in the White Paper 'Social Work in the Community' and with the concept of the Multi-purpose social work role so essential for the implementation of the new legislation which had governed the change. Again, a look at some of the statements made by the staff illustrates how the work was becoming to be interpreted by social workers in the field:

Q. 'Do you think that the work you do is important? Why?'

Ans. 'Because it should be for the benefit of individuals and for the community as a whole.'

'I am trying to provide a service for the community.'

'I feel that the value of the social work department lies in the service it offers the community at large.'

'We are providing a service for the community.'

'Because people are important.'

'Because we are trying to help other people who need this help and this, in turn, may help the future generation.'

Moreover, these values which social workers had begun to adopt in interpreting their work efforts were very much reinforced by the whole professional concept of community care which dominated the social work field at that time. Also, the term "community" was then becoming, and has since become, an established term in the discussions held by those who have some sort of pastoral-type responsibility or involvement in public service; for example, doctors, educationalists, ministers and priests, health service workers and councillors. The meanings, therefore, which these officers held resulted not simply out of a personal re-definition of their work, but from a more general re-definition of social service which reflected changes occurring in a variety of different public service areas.

However, whilst social workers continued to see their work as important, and to have made some move in the direction away from a purely specialist work commitment, neither the sense of importance of the work nor the shift in emphasis had served to make their experience in the new department a satisfactory one. Whilst 92.3% of all of the social workers in Department A were in favour of the theory behind the setting-up of the new Social Work Departments, these same social workers were much less enthusiastic about the actual implementation of these ideas which called for integrated departments and Multi-purpose social work staff. Only 28.8% were in favour of the new department in practice. 17.7% were unsure of their views and 53.2% were definitely against the setting-up of the new service; at least, the change in the service which they themselves had experienced.

As far as social workers in Department A were concerned the future of the new department service was far from optimistic. Only 6.6% of the staff were 'quite hopeful' about the eventual outcome of the change. Conversely, 55.4% were 'quite pessimistic' about the result of the move.

The absence of satisfactory experiences of the change within the department, and the workers' views that the long-term situation might not, in fact, offer an improvement in their work situation, doubtless contributed to the general lack of satisfaction experienced by staff in the new set-up when compared with that sense of work satisfaction experienced by staff in their previous specialist agencies. 80% of all members of staff stated that they were less satisfied with the present work situation. ($X^2 = 2.21$; df = 3 ; $p < .70$). The short-term result of the changeover as experienced by social work staff in Department A had been generally unrewarding, with an enlargement in the demands made of them by the department, but a reduction in incentives which would serve to motivate staff to make the desired adaptation to the changeover proposals.

In an attempt to locate more precisely where the possible sources of dissatisfaction lay for the Department A social work group, every social worker was asked to rank on a five-point scale the relative importance to themselves of each of the items which had been presented to staff as being of possible importance in motivating officers to remain in an agency, and in obtaining satisfaction from the work. These fifteen items which were drawn from the study were as follows:

High Status	High Salary	40-hour week
Good Communications	Qualities for job	Competence
Client Supervision	Time-table	Correspondence
Promotion	Having a say in the work	
Co-operation of Colleagues :	Courts :	Clients

Work which did not clash with personal ties and interests.

With the exception of High Status and a 40-hour week, which were ranked by the majority of social work staff as 'Not very important', all the other thirteen items were listed as 'Important' by social workers. Six items, however, were seen as being 'VERY Important' to the Dept.A social work group and these, in order of the weightings given by staff were:

1. Good Communications
2. Qualities for the Job
3. Client Supervision
4. Co-operation of Colleagues
5. Competence for the Job
6. Having a say in the Work.

Reminding ourselves of the earlier responses made by these social workers on these same items, we discover that only in the areas of Client Supervision and Co-operation of Colleagues were these important elements of their work expectation met. Communications, the most important factor, were largely undeveloped between executive and other staff in the department; The social workers' Sense of Competence in their Work was also lower than that which they had experienced prior to the move into the new service; approximately half the staff did not see themselves as having the necessary qualities for the work of the multi-social worker, a role which few identified with, or welcomed; and, finally, the degree of consultation between

workers and the executive on the changes demanded in the officers' roles were less than these officers had previously anticipated or desired.

Given that the majority of the most important dimensions of the work situation which would make towards work satisfaction for these officers were not present to the desired degree, one would expect that discontent would arise among the staff and that a search for other work alternatives would increase among the staff.* Indeed, the data on staff consulting trade and professional papers for posts in other departments and agencies increased as a result of these experiences. 35.5% of staff consulted such papers as a matter of course, whilst a further 51% 'sometimes' did so. Moreover, more than one-third of the staff had applied for at least one post in another organisation, with the ex-Mental Health group being somewhat more active in the search than the other officers in the department ($P < .10$ 3d.f.).

The general dissatisfaction among social workers in Department A, therefore, appeared to result from two related sets of factors, one relating to the new generic work-role which they had been asked to take up, and the other to the adverse features of the department itself which appear to add to rather than remove a number of difficulties in the worker's ability to make a satisfactory transition into the new role cast for him or her by the changing legislation.

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* This is a hypothesis of March and Simon. op cit.

DEPARTMENT B SOCIAL WORKERS

Social Work Department B contained some 20 persons who had taken part in the initial survey of the different specialist groups - Probation, Mental Health, Welfare and Child Care. The breakdown figures of the representatives of these prior specialisms were:

Probation	4	(with another officer training)
Mental Health	2	
Welfare	4	
Child Care	10	(with three officers training)
TOTAL	20	

Because of the small numbers involved, particularly in Mental Health, it was not possible to carry out tests of significance among the four groups, and instead simply comparisons of the raw data were made. However, results of tests of significance are given for responses to questions by social workers of the two different Social Work Departments in the study. The data presented covers the same ground as that given for Department A, with any differences among the various ex-specialist staff being noted, and following on immediately from this data, comparisons are made on relevant items between the two Departments.

Motivation to Join Department B

The majority of the social work staff entered the new Social Work Department under the transfer arrangements brought about by the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968. In this respect no difference emerged either among the Department B specialist

social workers themselves or between them and the social workers employed by Department A.

Job at Entry:

35% of the total group believed that they had chosen their particular work-role in the organisation. The remaining 65%, however, stated that their position in the organisation had been delegated to them by the department at the point of entry. Some difference existed among the various groups in this respect, with ex-Child Care staff being somewhat more likely to have seen themselves as having chosen their work-role, rather than simply having been allocated to it by the organisation.

	Mental Health (N = 2)	Welfare (N = 4)	Probation (N = 4)	Child Care (N = 10)
Chose job	-	25%	25%	50%
Job delegated	100%	75%	75%	50%

Almost all of Department B social work staff believed that their work-role had undergone great changes since integrating into the new service; the greatest single change having been the inclusion of other types of cases and specialist-type problems as part of their normal duties. A slight difference existed between Department B social workers and their Department A colleagues in terms of their degree of involvement in these other specialist areas, with the Department B staff being slightly more involved in broader aspects of the work. However, the difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 1.88$; df = 1 ; $p < .20$).

Say in Changes:

Social workers in Department B appeared to be quite fortunate in terms of the degree of consultation open to them

over their new role within the department. 60% of this group stated that they had had a 'Good Deal' of say in the working out of their role, and 40% had had 'Some' say in how their services were to be used by the department. Little difference was evident among the different ex-specialist groups within the department in terms of the amount of prior consultation given to the worker. However, this was not the situation between Department B and Department A staff generally. When the social workers in both Departments A and B were compared on the amount of prior consultation made available to them in the formation of their work-role, Department B staff received very much MORE consultation in the matter than that given to staff in Department A. The difference, indeed, was significant at a very high level. ($X^2 = 14.37$; df = 2 ; $p < .001$).

Preparation for the Changeover:

Comparing the Department B ex-specialist staff with one another in terms of the degree of preparation undergone by them by way of official meetings; discussions and lectures, we find that the ex-Probation group were slightly more favoured, although the general level of preparation in terms of Meetings and Discussions with the Department Heads was very good. Few members of staff received much by way of Lecture input material from official sources during the change. The difference between the social work staff in both Departments, however, was extremely great, with the Department B social workers receiving relatively much more preparation from each of these sources than that made available to their colleagues working in Department A. The extent

of the difference can be seen in the following table:

TABLE I

Meetings	$X^2 = 15.11$; df = 2 ; $p < .001$
Discussion	$X^2 = 14.18$; df = 2 ; $p < .001$
Lectures	$X^2 = 8.61$; df = 2 ; $p < .02$

Other important sources of ongoing preparation of the staff were, of course, the department's own communication system which could provide the staff with current information about their work in, and for, the department. In Department B, vertical communications from the hierarchy were seen as 'Very Good' by 20% of the staff; 'Good' by a further 65%, and 'Poor' by 15. Ex-Probation staff had a somewhat higher opinion of this particular communication structure than the other staff members. Little difference emerged among the Department B ex-specialist groups, when comparisons were made on attitudes to the effectiveness of the Horizontal communications network within the department. Horizontal communications were seen as somewhat better than Vertical communications, with 45% of the staff stating that this particular form of passing information within the department was 'Very Good', and a further 45% seeing it as 'Good'. However, there was a marked difference between the Department B and Department A social work staff's experience of Horizontal communications - Department B staff were more satisfied with this aspect of the work situation. ($X^2 = 7.02$; df = 2 ; $p < .02$).

With respect to Vertical communications, Department B social workers also had a greater regard for the effectiveness of communication channels between themselves and those in command

than did their counterparts in Department A. Moreover, the difference between the two groups was extremely large. (χ^2 = 30.31; df = 2; p<.001 level).

The importance of these Vertical communications between the top administration and staff at the lower levels was illustrated in the difference between the social work staff in both departments in the amount of information available to them on the Policy and the aims of the new Social Work Department. In the Department B, 50% of the staff stated that they knew 'A Lot' about the policy of their department, whilst a further 50% knew 'Something' of that policy. In Department A, on the other hand, 75% of the social work staff stated that they knew 'Very Little' about the policy of their organisation. This difference between the two groups of social work staff was extremely great. (χ^2 = 31.57 ; df = 2 ; p<.001 level).

Qualities and Training for the Job:

As with Department A staff, the entry of the social workers in Department B into the new Social Work Service had brought with it quite radical changes in both their duties and official conception of their role as social workers. The response of the staff to these new demands of the situation was, however, somewhat more favourable for the Department B group than for the Department A social work team. 80% of Department B social workers believed that they had the right qualities which go into the making of a good Multi-purpose Social Worker, and in this respect were slightly more confident of their suitability for the work than their colleagues in the other

department (X^2 = 4.35 ; df = 2 ; p < .20). More social workers in Department B also felt better trained for the new work-role than was the case among Department A social workers, with half of the Department B staff feeling that they had the necessary training for the work (X^2 = 6.91 ; df = 2 ; p < .05). However, some internal difference did exist among Department B staff, with the ex-Probation and Mental Health staff feeling generally less equipped for the work than the other two groups of ex-specialist workers.

	Trained for New Work Role			
	Mental Health (N = 2)	Probation (N = 4)	Welfare (N = 4)	Child Care (N = 10)
Yes	-	25%	75%	60%
No	50%	75%	25%	40%
Don't know	50%	-	-	-

Competence:

The general feeling of being suited to the work and the rather high level of staff who felt trained for the role of the Multi-purpose Social Worker might be expected to be reflected in the proportions of staff who felt competent to handle every aspect of their work in the new work situation and, indeed, there was a difference between the social work staff of both departments and their ease in the new work role. Half of the Department B staff felt confident to handle any aspect of their work, whilst 80% of Department A Social Workers did not feel so able. (X^2 = 11.47 ; df = 2 ; p < .01).

However, this feeling of competence and training for the new work-role was not based entirely on the actual

information held by Department B social workers on the other former specialist areas of their work. Indeed, Department B social work staff generally were very similar to their Department A colleagues in terms of the low level of information held by themselves of procedures and workings of specialisms other than their own specialism prior to the change. Ease in the work situation was, therefore, less dependent on the knowledge held by Department B staff than on other aspects of the work situation, which will be brought out later.

In terms of qualities for the job, and even training for the work, the social workers in Department B had fared better than their fellow social workers in Department A. Moreover, the changeover had generated fewer problems of confidence in the performance of their work role than had been the case for the other group. Nevertheless, the knowledge base of these workers was generally low, outside that of their own discipline prior to the changeover and obviously this deficit would have to be met from one source or another, either in terms of instruction which was built into the system of the department itself or, more loosely, from contact with the different ex-specialist workers.

Instruction and Supervision:

In Department B, supervision and instruction on new areas of the work came via two major sources - a senior member of staff (60%) or a colleague who formerly specialised in that field (40%). Generally, however, the more important source of contact in times of difficulty in the work situation was the senior, with the exception of the Welfare staff, who were more

likely to consult a colleague with their work problems. The use made of the senior members of staff, either for instruction in how to do the work or for the discussion of problems, was greater among Department B Social Workers than the staff in Department A, the latter being much more likely to make more use of a former specialist colleague in times of difficulty or a new colleague for general instruction on other specialist-type aspects of their work. ($X^2 = 4.43$; df = 1 ; $p < .05$). Moreover, this difference in use would appear to be due to the fact that in Department B, such supervision and instruction by the senior was largely built into the system, rather than the result of different personality types of seniors in the two departments, since all social workers in both departments viewed their immediate senior as 'an approachable person'. In Department A, on the other hand, this means of instruction from the senior members of staff was relatively absent, as indicated by the fact that staff wanted 'More' supervision from their seniors, whilst in Department B, 75% of the social work staff were satisfied with the supervision which they received from senior members of staff. ($X^2 = 4.38$; df = 1 ; $p < .05$).

In both of the departments studied, it was the former Child Care and Mental Health staff who were more likely to desire an increase in the supervision provided. The former Probation staff, on the other hand, were the least likely to seek further supervision from senior staff.

SUPERVISION

(Combined Totals of BOTH Departments)

	Mental Health (N = 5)	Welfare (N = 12)	Probation (N = 12)	Child Care (N = 36)
Wants more	80%	33.3%	8.3%	58.3%
Satisfied	-	66.6%	91.7%	38.9%
Wants less	20%	-	-	-

Control over Work:

The change to a new Social Work Department, and a more inclusive type of service, together, in some instances with both a reduction in the workers' knowledge base and sense of competence in the work situation, might be expected to have some impact on the workers' continued ability to control the more important aspects of his or her work-role. In practice, however, all ex-specialist staff seem to have maintained a degree of control. If we consider the table below, we see just how extensive their control was:

TABLE II

Client Supervision	Good Deal of Control	70%
Time-table	-do-	85%
Correspondence	-do-	85%
Control over Cases	-do-	85%
Area of Work	-do-	65%

Ex-Probation Officers appeared to be even more favoured in terms of their overall control of their work than their fellow-officers from the other old specialisms, although, generally, their level of control was also high. Compared with the social work staff in Department A, the differences between the two groups in terms of control, whilst not marked, were significant at the point .10 level, in terms of the types of cases which they received and the areas in which they had been obliged to work, with Department B staff having more influence in these matters than their colleagues in Department A. No difference was found between either department's staff in terms

of the all-important aspect of their work, i.e. Supervision of the Client. (X^2 = .94 ; df = 2 ; p < .70).

Department B social workers not only exercised a great deal of personal control over their work, but also saw themselves as having been given a great deal of responsibility from their seniors to carry out the work as the social workers themselves saw fit. 95% of Department B social workers got this degree of responsibility from their senior staff, and in this respect there was absolutely no difference between the staff in both departments. However, the interpretation given by the workers of this degree of freedom to manage the work by themselves was different for the two social work department groups, with Department B staff being more satisfied with the responsibility held by themselves than the Department A staff. Moreover, this difference between the two groups was statistically significant. (X^2 = 6.40 ; df = 2 ; p < .05).

Department B social workers, as a group, appeared to have experienced a better transition into the new social work service than their Department A colleagues. Most Department B social workers had had a good deal of consultation over how they were to be employed in the new service structure, and had received a relatively large amount of official preparation for the changes taking place. Many more Department B social workers felt suited to the new generic role in terms of qualities, although ex-Probation and Welfare staff were less confident in their training for the new role demands. These latter groups, however, did not feel any less competent in the new work situation. All ex-

specialist ataff in Department B had a high degree of personal autonomy and control over important aspects of their work and instruction, via the senior staff, built into the system. They had a very high degree of delegated responsibility to do the job and were satisfied with this state of affairs. On the whole, therefore, as a group or as individual specialist groups, these officers in Department B appeared to have retained much of what they had had before the change, in terms of control and suitability for the work. The only important area where they had experienced some loss was in their general feeling of confidence in the work situation, which, whilst greater than that held by Department A Staff, was less than that held by themselves prior to the changeover.

Inducements:

The move to the new Social Work Service structure had not only altered the work-role of these officers, but had also changed the Inducements which were available through the organisation for its staff in the way of salaries, status and promotions; security of on-the-job relationships; shared objectives between the staff and the service, as well as hours of work and leisure time interests.

Salary:

In so far as the new pay scales were concerned, the officers in Department B were generally satisfied with the salaries which they received (65%), although there were a number of officers who felt the pay structure could have been

improved (35%). Very little difference was found among the former specialist groups in Department B in terms of their attitudes to this question, whereas an extremely marked difference in attitudes towards staff pay scales was evident between Department B and Department A workers, with the latter being much more dissatisfied with their pay situation. (χ^2 = 12.37 ; df = 2 ; $p < .01$).

Status:

With respect to status (both personal and general image in the eyes of the community), Department B social workers stated either that their social image had remained the same or had gone up with their entry into the new Social Work Department, and that their own personal status had been similarly affected. Little difference existed among the former specialist groups in terms of personal status resulting from the change. However, with the exception of the ex-Child Care staff, who did not generally view their former specialist Child Care colleagues as suffering from a reduction in status resulting from the change, the other three social work groups were more likely to view their former colleagues as losing status as a result of their entry into the new service structure. The following table illustrates the extent to which social workers believed that the status of their former specialist colleagues had suffered as a result of the changeover:

	Mental Health (N = 2)	Welfare (N = 4)	Probation (N = 4)	Child Care (N = 10)
Status suffered	50%	75%	50%	20%

Some difference also existed between Department B and

Department A social workers, with the latter group feeling generally more pessimistic over the fate of their former colleagues in the new service. ($\chi^2 = 7.99$; df = 2 ; $p < .02$).

Department A social workers were also less likely to see any improvement or retention of personal status in the eyes of the community. The combination of negative attitudes towards their own personal status and that of their former colleagues possibly accounted for the relatively lower level of general satisfaction expressed by the social workers of Department A with respect to their position in the new service.

	WORK STATUS	
	Department A (N = 45)	Department B (N = 20)
Satisfied with Work Status	51.11%	75%
Adequate	24.44%	10%
Dissatisfied	24.44%	15%

Department B

Given that some individuals and groups believed that they had suffered a reduction in status as a result of the move to the new service, the question arose as to whether they saw any other group profiting from the changeover and, indeed, 40% of the Social Work staff in both Departments held the view that some group(s) had, in fact, benefited directly from the move. The group least likely to see any specialism as benefiting from the changeover were ex-Child Care staff, and this was true of both Social Work Departments. However, those social workers who did see some group or groups as having benefited, overwhelmingly gave Child Care as the fortunate group in Department A, and a majority gave ex-Child Care staff

as the main beneficiaries in Department B. One important source of benefit affecting ex-Child Care Officers in the new departments, quite apart from any question of status, was the fact that much of the role of the new multi-purpose social worker continued to involve Child Caretype problems and cases. Child Care-type cases - because of both volume and statutory obligations which were attached to these categories of clients - had priority, along with Probation work, as the workers' main official social work responsibilities. Ex-specialists in that field, therefore, were presented with work which was less threatening, because of its novelty value, than were the other specialist groups. In this respect, former Child Care officers could be seen as benefiting from the move.

Mixed Groups:

The integration of staff into the new Social Work Departments involved changes which, because of their nature, would obviously affect the stable on-the-job relationships with colleagues and others which had been sources of work satisfaction for social workers prior to the change. Moreover, the attitudes of some workers to the prospect of working together with social workers from other different specialisms, whilst accepted, was not always welcomed. Confronted with the situation, how, then, had Department B groups responded to working in small, mixed teams of social work staff? In fact, the vast majority of these officers in Department B liked working in this way (90%) and 75% of these officers believed themselves to be even MORE effective working in this new

setting. Little difference emerged among the various former specialisms within the department in terms either of enjoyment of mixed teams or feelings of effectiveness. However some differences were evident between the staff in both Departments, with the staff in Department B feeling somewhat more effective in the new setting than their colleagues in Department A. ($X^2 = 10.96$; $df = 2$; $p < .01$).

Other Role Relationships:

With respect to their other on-the-job relationships with New Colleagues, the Courts and their Clients and Senior Staff, there was a general agreement, both among specialist staff in Department B and between that department and Department A, as to the approachability of seniors, the reliability of new colleagues for co-operation and general attitudes towards their clients. Only in the instance of the Courts did marked differences appear, with ex-Probation staff being more confident in the Courts and ex-Child Care staff, for both social work departments, being less confident in the co-operation which they might expect from the Courts in the pursuit of their work. The overall situation, therefore, was that, whilst some of the on-the-job relationships had altered and now involved other individuals and groups, the overall security of these workers in the newly-formed relationships continued to be as high as in their previous specialist agency.

The Department:

Whilst working relationships with immediates appeared to be similar for the staff in both departments, the attitudes

of Department B staff towards their department were generally more favourable than those of Department A staff to their own organisation. Whereas 46.6% of Department A workers believed that their department had 'Nothing' better to offer social workers, only 10% of the officers in Department B held that view of their own department. The most important single reason given as an attraction offered by Department B over what was available in other Social Work Departments was a 'Good Director' (45%). Some difference was found among the various specialist groups in terms of what was seen as attractions of their new department. For former Child Care staff the attraction was overwhelmingly the new Director, whereas former Welfare Officers were least likely to find any favourable aspect in the new department over and above that available elsewhere. This group were also the least satisfied with their work status in the new service. Generally speaking, however, the attitudes of the majority of the Department B social workers to the new department were very favourable. The more important 'likes' of the social workers in the new work situation were 'the challenge of the job' (40%); 'the variety' of the work (25%) and 'good staff relationships' (35%). Least mentioned were: 'the opportunity to learn other disciplines (5%) or 'working with an area team' (10%).

The most important difference to emerge among the former specialist staff in Department B in terms of 'likes' was the greater sense of 'challenge' which the new work situation had presented to the Child Care staff (60%). This would

appear to suggest that whilst these ex-Child Care workers might have felt less competent in the work situation than some of their fellow specialist workers in Department B, and to have been less confident in the anticipated support offered to them by the Courts, their general attitude to the demands of the new service was welcoming rather than threatening.

The major 'Dislikes' of Department B staff were 'lack of resources', including shortage of staff (40%), and 'pressure of work', (25%). Criticism of the administration of those in command of the service was minimal in Department B (20%) when compared with that of Department A on the same item (88.8%). In Department B, work problems were related to difficulties not entirely within the control of those immediately responsible for the service, whilst in Department A, work difficulties were focused directly on the Director and his staff. Those few officers in Department B who were critical of the administration were predominantly ex-Welfare Officers. However, the statements made by the officers themselves will best illustrate how they saw their work situation in Department B:

LIKES:

> "The challenge/responsibility, but am very ambivalent about my role."
>
> "The new opportunities it provides in social work, the new resources that will be available, the hope that casework can be done more effectively than in the past because of the resources in time and personnel."

"Variety of caseload; additional responsibility."

"Responsibility, certain amount of freedom, meeting people, etc."

"The challenge!.The support from my colleagues and my seniors."

"Being allowed to get on with the task in hand."

"Being part of a team. Freedom to plan own work. Responsibility. Variety."

"A sense of being in at the beginning and sharing in the building of something one hopes will be worthwhile; of working to raise standards of service, although with scarce resources, and generally having support to do so."

"My clients and colleagues."

DISLIKES:

"Pressure and lack of resources."

"Present difficulties over office accommodation etc. Lack of facilities; residential places, etc."

"The quantity of work."

"The lack of organisation of work caseloads too high; criticism from other professions, councillors, public."

"I have doubts about the effectiveness of what I am doing; continual pressure makes it difficult to learn much about other disciplines."

"The long-drawn-out turmoil of the changeover."

"I have no dislikes at present."

The more important differences between Department B and Department A social workers, in terms of 'Likes' and 'Dislikes' were the greater sense of challenge and involvement among Department B staff and the absence of a tendency noted in the Department A group to locate the source of the majority of their difficulties in the top administration of their department. Both groups were more alike in terms of the good staff relationships enjoyed by each, and in the pressures of work with which each group were confronted during this period of transition. The overall picture gained from a study of data on the attitudes of workers in both Social Work Departments suggests quite clearly a more favourable response among Department B staff towards their department and the changes taking place.

It was noted amongst Department A Social Work staff that whilst the nature of their work continued to be seen as important there was a slight change in emphasis placed on the reasons as to why the work was important. The drift was in the direction of the Contributions which their work made to the community as well as to the client, whereas prior to the change, the client received more emphasis among staff when locating the importance of the work for themselves. In the case of Department B Social Work staff, 95% continued to view their work as important. The overall importance of the work was in the direction of the community which was seen by 45% of the staff as the main beneficiary of the service as well as the justification for the social workers' existence. A further 25% gave the client as containing the source from which the workers derived a sense

of importance in their work and their particular contribution. As with the staff in Department A, the meanings given to the work by the social workers had begun to move in the direction of a community orientation and away from a specialist/client one. Some difference did exist among social workers in Department B in terms of the meaning attached to the work by the various ex-specialist groups, with former Child Care staff being more community oriented and ex-Probation staff being more client focused. However, the following statements from the staff should serve to demonstrate the workers' own views on this matter:

IMPORTANCE OF JOB -

> "How could social workers function without believing this? Because one is able to use one's professional skills to make the community aware of available resources and their RIGHT to use them."
>
> "I feel that there is some contribution to make in helping some members of the community adjust to their problems."
>
> "It is self-evident thatwork is, and has always, been important when dealing with the future welfare of persons."
>
> "Propping up the oppressed section of society."
>
> "Helps clients with problems in their daily lives."
>
> "It contributes towards prevention of family breakdown."

As can be seen by comparing these statements with those made by Department A staff, little difference existed between the two groups of social work staff in terms of the content of the meanings attached by social workers to their respective roles, although there was some indication that the staffin Department B had moved more quickly in the direction of a community-oriented approach to the work than their colleagues in Department A during the same period of time.

The Department B social workers' shift in the meanings which they attached to their work were underpinned by their attitude towards the concept and practice of the recently-formed integrated Social Work Departments. Social workers in Department B were 100% behind the 'idea' of the new Social Work Department and 75% were in favour of the new department 'in practice'. As can be seen from these figures, there was a great deal of support among all categories of specialist staff in Department B for the formation of the new department. The support shown by these workers, however, was markedly different from that indicated by those social workers employed by Department A, with the latter being very much more against the practical workings-out of the new Social Work Departments. ($X^2 = 14.60$; $df = 2$; $p < .001$).

Multi-Purpose Social Worker:

The attitude of staff in Department B to the concept and practice of the multi-purpose social worker, however, was far from favourable, at least in as much as this requirement applied to themselves. 70% of these social workers saw the

idea of the multi-purpose social worker as impractical, although 55% were prepared to acknowledge that such a social work role might be possible in the long term, provided certain changes had occurred in the training of staff to meet the new demands of such a role. However, only 5% of the Department B staff saw the idea of the multi-purpose social worker as a practical proposition for themselves. The attitudes of these workers are best demonstrated in their own statements, given below:

> "Not very practical. Workers will always have areas of specific interest and concern (partly because of their own needs) and will concentrate their energies in perhaps one or two areas."
>
> "In theory, if social workers were machines, and equally interested and effective in all areas, they could exist, but as this is a human impossibility, they don't nor ever will."
>
> "Probably not practical. Should use the specialist skills and preferences people have. Even if generic trained still have areas they are more adequate in than others."
>
> "I feel the field is too great, but with better training it may come in time, although I think there will always have to be some workers who specialise."
>
> "Not very practical - would still be necessary and desirable to have specialist services and workers to certain degree."
>
> "Depends on the type of training, but will always have specialists in certain fields."

"Depends a lot on outlook, personal preferences, stage of training and experience."

These statements reflect many of the sentiments shown by Department A social workers to this same question. 'How Practical is the Multi-purpose social worker?'. The obstacles confronting the individual were not simply a basic lack of knowledge, which would be of major importance for social workers engaging in these former specialist fields - knowledge, incidentally, which very few social workers possessed - but, also, the sense of commitment and involvement of the social worker in particular aspects of the work, which the majority would prefer to see maintained. Whilst the attitudes of social workers could be seen as moving towards the broader, more general area of community service, this did not imply a necessary relinquishing of the personal sense of identification with previous areas of work, since such specialist activities could still be interpreted as important within the "community" umbrella, as to befriend the deviant, assist the family in need or provide support for ex-mental patients could still be interpreted as "helping the community."

General Satisfaction:

The fact that Department B social workers had been required to undertake work in other disciplines and to engage in a multi-purpose type role - a role which they generally regarded as impractical - might have been expected to have coloured both their view of the organisation and their satisfaction in their new work situation. Nevertheless, the level of optimism on the final outcome of the changes in the service

within their own department was very good, with 50% of the social workers feeling 'Quite Optimistic' and a further 40% 'Optimistic' about the move. The ex-Welfare staff, however, whilst 'Optimistic' about the changeover, were less enthusiastic than the others over the move. This degree of optimism over the eventual favourable outcome of the changeover was reflected, too, in the level of satisfaction experienced by social workers in the new work situation. 30% of Department B staff believed that they had become MORE satisfied with their jobs as a result of the change; 55% stated that their satisfaction in work had remained about the same as that held by them prior to the move. Only 15% felt less satisfied than before in the new work situation. Little difference was found among the various specialist groups in Department B with regard to either 'optimism' or 'general satisfaction'. The difference between the social workers in the two departments on both of these points, however, was extremely great, with social work staff in Department A being much less enthusiastic about the new service and much less satisfied with their work situation in the new department.

(Optimism : $\chi^2 = 17.13$; df = 2 ; $p < .001$).

(Satisfaction : $\chi^2 = 22.22$; df = 2 ; $p < .001$).

In an attempt to locate which aspects of the work might account for this relative sense of continued satisfaction in the new work situation among Department B staff, these officers were asked to rank some 15 items used in the study in terms of the importance of these aspects of the work situation for themselves. (These items were, of course, identical with those

given to staff in Department A). With the exception of 'High Status' and 'A 40-hour Week', which were given low priority among these workers, all the other items were seen as imporrant. The six MOST important items from the viewpoint of the social workers in Department B were, in order of primacy:

1. Good Communications
2. Qualities for the Job
3. Competence for the job
4. Co-operation of Colleagues
5. Say in Work asked to do
6. Client Supervision.

The same six items appear for both groups; however, Client Supervision was exchanged for Competence in the Work by Department B staff.

If we consider how well the staff in Department B had fared in having these important preferences met in their own work situation, we see that the desire for Good Communications within the Department had been largely met; the majority of staff believed they had the right 'Qualities for the Job'; half of the staff felt 'Competent to deal with the Work',which was required of them by the Department; they had a very high level of co-operation from colleagues in the department; they had received a fair amount of consultation from the department in how their services were to be utilised; and, finally, they had a high degree of control over the supervision of clients. In each of these important areas, the expectation of Department B staff had been largely met. Moreover, in other important,but

less crucial aspects of the work situation, such as control over their work and responsibility in the job, expectations had again been matched by the department. Only in their ability to perform as specialist workers in the new department had there been any real sense of invasion into the sense of satisfaction previously derived from their work, but at this yet early stage of the development of the new service, such involvement in other specialist areas was still proportionally small when compared with the worker's standing caseload, which, initially at least, continued to contain a predominance of their former specialist cases and work problems.

CONCLUSION:

Department A and Department B social work staff were both similar to each other in terms of their initial motivation to enter the new Social Work Departments. For all specialist groups concerned in the changeover, the major factor prompting the transfer was the legislation contained in the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, which called for the compulsory integration of Local Authority Services in Scotland.

For both groups of staff, entry into their respective organisations had involved a major change in their role and areas of responsibility. Typically, this new role was seen as having been delegated rather than one actively sought. The most significant changes to take place in their role were the requirement of staff to undertake, or to be responsible for others undertaking, broader or more multi-purpose duties in the new department structure, together with the loss of their previous specialist titles and identities. During the first

three months of the changeover, the demands made on staff to undertake much wider responsibilities and duties had been limited, primarily because of the absence of accommodation in which to house mixed social work staff during the first few months. Department B social work staff, having made the move on staff integration sooner - by establishing at least one area office in the community - had effected more movement towards acceptance and involvement in other areas of work. However, they had also experienced much more consultation with the organisation executive on how the latter would make use of their services and the difference between Department B and Department A Social Work staff on this aspect of prior consultation on duties of staff was very great indeed (sign .001 level). Moreover, both groups, prior to the changeover, had indicated a strong expectation for being consulted by the management; an expectation which was generally seen by the worker as his or her right because of the personal involvement and experience of the worker in his or her job. Department B staff differed from their Department A colleagues in the extent to which they had been prepared for the changes which had taken place, or were to take place, both in the service and in their own particular role in the provision of that service. Once more, the difference between the two groups on the amount of preparation for the change by way of official Meetings, Discussions and Lectures was very marked, with the Department B staff having much more preparation than those of Department A. The extent of this difference is clearly demonstrated in the results of tests of significance for each area which were as follows:

Official Meetings significant .001 level;

Official Discussions significant .001 level;

Lectures significant .01 level.

The amount of preparation which Department B staff had experienced, both prior to and during the transition period, was to be reflected in their conception of themselves in their new multi-purpose role and its related activities. Department B workers were more likely than their Department A colleagues to believe that they held the necessary qualities desirable in a multi-purpose social worker (significant .10 level), and to feel they had the requisite training for the job (significant .05 level), whereas, in fact, there was very little difference between the staff in both groups in terms of their training qualifications. Nonetheless, Department B staff did feel more suited to the work, and this was reflected in the degree of competence they experienced in the job which, again, was much greater than that felt by the staff in Department A (significant .01 level).

One interesting feature to emerge out of the differences in the felt levels of confidence experienced by both groups was the fact that such competence did not rest on any actual differences in the amount of knowledge held by the two groups on the different branches of social work. Both groups of social workers were very similar in terms of the meagre amount of knowledge which they held on the procedures and practices in areas of social work other than their own former specialism. Nevertheless, differences did exist between the

two groups, not only in the aforementioned sense of greater competence by staff in Department B, but also in the former's greater sense of effectiveness in the new work situation, which was again statistically significant (.01 level). Given that the Department B staff were no better qualified for the work than their colleagues in Department A, what factors possibly accounted for the former's greater sense of competence and effectiveness in the new work situation? Two major factors possibly account for these differences, namely the structure of the organisation and its ideology.

The structure of Department B had built into it a system whereby social workers not only knew their own role responsibilities, but also the responsibilities of other members of staff. Supervision, for example, was officially built into the role of the senior social worker as a major aspect of that role. To ensure such supervisory functions could take place, caseloads of senior staff were officially kept low; time was set aside for the supervision of staff, and seniors were initially chosen on their ability to fulfil these supervisory requirements. In Department A, senior social workers also had a supervisory requirement, but many continued to handle caseloadsof a size as to make time for effective supervision of staff, most difficult to meet. Moreover, the suggestion from some members of the social work staff in Department A was that some seniors had not been chosen because they had the requisite supervisory skills, but on some other criterion. That, indeed, something was far amiss can be seen from the examination of how the two groups made use of their senior advisors in their

respective departments. In Department B the social workers made much greater use of the senior members of staff for both supervision on novel aspects of the work and for a variety of other work problems. The difference between the two groups in their use of senior staff in this way was significant at the .05 level. Moreover, whilst Department A staff were generally anxious for MORE supervision from senior staff in their work, Department B social workers, on the other hand, were generally satisfied with the system in operation within their own department. (significant .05 level).

Interestingly, part of the difficulty arose from the fact that in both Social Work Departments, social workers were given a great deal of responsibility to carry out the work more or less as they saw fit, but Department A, unlike Department B, had failed to build into the structure the necessary supports for staff confronted by the novel demands of the work. The lack of such built-in supports merely added to the strain of a social worker who already felt less suited, less equipped and less competent for the work than had been the case when he or she had operated as specialist workers in a familiar environment.

The second related factor affecting the Department B workers' greater sense of suitability, competence and effectiveness was the department's ideology. The Head of Department B carried out a deliberate policy of preparing social workers to both recognise and accept and identify with the changes taking place. This was done in the specification of a wider role obligation on the part of staff which was coupled with

sets of assurances that the workers were both able and suited to undertake this new work which was presented to staff as both a challenging and an exciting development in the profession as a whole.

One important method of transmitting the ideology of the department was through its policy, or statements of objectives. Policy statements can be seen as important in as much as they carry meanings or images of the work with which the individual worker can identify, or reject. In the case of Department B staff, social workers were more knowledgeable of the policy of their department than the Department A group were of their department's policy or objectives. This difference in the amount of knowledge which each group felt itself to possess on the policy of their own organisation was extremely marked, with Department A social workers being very much in the dark on the objectives and policy of their Director and his organisation. (This difference was statistically significant at .001 level). Not only did Department A staff know more about what their department was attempting to achieve, but there was also considerable agreement among the staff themselves as to the appropriateness of this policy.

A major way in which the policy of the department can become known to the staff at the different levels in the organisation is through its system of communications at both the vertical and horizontal levels. However, in this respect, too, Department B social workers operated with more satisfactory communication networks than did their Department A colleagues. Vertical levels of communication from the Director downwards

were experienced by staff as being vastly better in Department B than in Department A (significant .001 level). Likewise, Department B staff believed that they had very good horizontal communications operating among colleagues, whilst Department A staff did not view that particular form of communication in such a favourable light (significant .02 level), although horizontal communications were better in Department A than its vertical forms.

Social Work Department B, therefore, both in terms of its organisational structure and its method of communicating its particular philosophy to the staff, was more effective in contributing to the individual social worker's sense of well-being and confidence in the work situation than was his or her counterpart in Department A.

Whilst there had been a recognisable increase in the Contributions demanded from the staff in terms of broader role expectations and commitments, Inducements which might compensate for the disturbance in their former work balance between efforts and rewards were not regarded by social workers in the two departments with equal enthusiasm. Compared with their colleagues in Department B, Department A staff were very dissatisfied with their pay scales (the difference being significant at the .01 level). Department A staff were also less satisfied with their new status than were their colleagues in Department B (significant .20 level) and more pessimistic over the fate of the status of their fellow specialist colleagues (significant .02 level).

With respect to the department itself, Department B

staff were more able than their counterparts in Department A to find favourable features in the new organisation, more particularly in the quality of the new Director. These attitudes towards the new Director and his department were reflected in the staff's general acceptance of both the principle and the practice of the new service. Social workers in both departments were similar in the acceptance of the theoretical benefits of the new department, but only Department B staff were overwhelmingly in favour of the practical implementation of these ideals. The difference between Department B and Department A staff in terms of their support for the new department 'in practice' (significant at .001 level) was very marked indeed. Entry into the new department, which had brought with it the opportunity to work alongside other specialist workers as colleagues, had generally proved a rewarding experience for both groups of social workers, but was obviously, by itself, insufficient to commit members to the demands of the new administration. The outlook of the staff in the two departments to the future development of the service also reflected this division of attitudes between the two groups. Whilst both sets of social workers in the two departments had moved more in the direction of a general commitment to the community, rather than specialist client identification, and saw the importance of their contribution in these terms, social workers did not share the same sense of optimism about the final success of the integration of the services. Department A staff were very much less enthusiastic about the future of the new service, and because of this rather dismal view, together

with the aforementioned difficulties experienced by themselves, general work satisfaction in the new Social Work Department fell. The difference between Department A and Department B staff, on both a sense of optimism and general satisfaction resulting from the changeover was very marked indeed. (In each case significant at .001 level).

Whilst Department B social workers experienced greater optimism for the future of the new service and continued, or improved, work satisfaction in the new setting, this did not imply any rejection of their former specialist role or sense of identity. Department B social workers were similar to the Department A group in their rejection of the practical implementation of a multi-purpose social worker. The basis for this rejection in each case was on knowledge grounds, and perhaps equally important, on personality grounds. Social workers generally believed that it was necessary to attempt to match the personality of the officer with the type of work received, and in this respect it was the worker, him or herself, who was often the best judge in the matter. Across-the-board involvement in all manner of cases, as a general policy, was not seen as a practical proposition by the majority of staff. The primary reason given for the staff's reluctance or inability to adapt in the situation was because of their lack of conditioning to the types of images and meanings which the new work entailed, and because of their prior conditioning to a former specialised role. What had been functional in preparing social workers for a specialist-type task had become disfunctional as the task itself had undergone a radical change, whilst the

values underpinning the new tasks had yet to be developed. However, the attempt by the executive of Department B to alter the ideological viewpoint of his workers' roles to their work had met with some success, for whilst, as a group, Department B social workers were generally critical of the practicality of the multi-purpose social worker, they were nevertheless much more prepared than their Department A colleagues to countenance the long-term feasibility of such a species of social worker. The ability of Department B staff to make this adaptation could, in no small measure, be attributed to the efforts of their Director and his recognition of the fact that values held by the staff were of crucial importance in influencing their work activities. Since the latter were to undergo radical changes with integration, so, too, the values themselves had to be replaced with others more suited to the demands of the new service and its context.

The general satisfaction experienced by social workers in their role within Social Work Department B, however, does not necessarily imply that the transition did not involve any disturbances in the original balance struck between specialist staff and their respective organisations in terms of the demands or Contributions expected of the staff and the rewards, or Inducements, offered or received. Disturbances had occurred in such areas as pay, status, conditions and activities, with each set of changes holding different implications for different individuals and/or groups. These changes were sometimes tolerated, sometimes challenged and sometimes left unresolved.

In the next chapter we shall consider a few of the changes which became issues for the staff in the two departments; that is, problems which called forth certain actions on the part of individuals and/or groups to restore a more favourable balance between the expectations made on themselves by the department and/or the Inducements received. Interestingly, however, it was the structure of the organisation itself, rather than the specialism, which generated the types of issues raised and the responses made by the staff.

CHAPTER 8

STRUCTURE AND CHANGE

THE URBAN DEPARTMENT A

Whilst traditionally, sociologists could be seen as attempting to understand the behaviour of the organisation and its members by focusing on the objective features of the situation, namely the physical structure of the organisation, its technology and environment, the individual worker, I would suggest, is more apt to personalise the situation and to focus on those meanings which are generated for the worker by management and others concerned with what management does. Trahair(C), Yarrow and Daniel are among the more recent writers who have raised the question of the importance of the sets of identities presented by management to the worker and, more particularly, the extent to which such identities are in keeping with, or associated with, the workers' own particular interests in the work situation. Just as organisations can be classified in terms of their control mechanisms (Etzioni), or by their consumer base (Blau and Scott), or on the basis of their ideologies (Jackson), so, too, one can see intermingled with these same dimensions of the organisation, the probability that

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R.C. Trahair (C) 'The Workers' Judgment of their Job as a Variable in Work Role Analysis', Human Relations, pp.143-6 1968.

M.R. Yarrow et al. 'Interpersonal Change. Process and Theory'. Journal of Social Issues, 1958. pp.60-63.

W.W. Daniel 'Understanding Employee Behaviour in its Context' in 'Man and Organisation', Ed. J.Child. 1973. pp.50-60.

Etzioni

P. Blau & Scott 'Formal Organisations'

Jackson 'Professions and Professionalisation', pp.76-79.

organisations generate quite distinct images for themselves in their relations with their staff as 'caring', 'impersonal', 'hostile', 'supportive' or 'demanding'. These different sets of identities result from the actions typically shown by management to the worker which are evaluated by the worker in these subjective terms. (Selznick). How the individual views the work situation is largely influenced by the personalities attached to management by the worker. The boss presents himself as a person, and not simply as a task performer or a locus of authority. (Trahair (C)). How the worker views the leadership of the organisation can, therefore, be expected to colour his own particular response to the demands made of him by the organisation. The difference in the image generated by management is not only a result of the nature of the task in hand, but also the management's own particular philosophy or interests in the situation. (Chowdry and Pal).

In this chapter, the concern is with the extent to which two organisations - operating with the same official remit and technoloogy - generated two distinct images of themselves for their staff, and the impact of these impressions on the worker's ability to find important sets of intrinsic satisfactions from the work situation. The following data relates to the work situation some eighteen months after the official changeover, and indicates that the direction of the change continued along the lines established in the first six months of the amalgamation of the services.

P.Selznick 'Ideology and Organisations', p.78
K.Chowdry & A.K.Pal 'Production Planning and Organisational Morale'
R.C.S.Rtahair.(c).op.cit.

The Personality of the Organisation:

The argument here is that different organisations generate different images or identities of themselves for the worker, and that these identities are, as Trahair and Yarrow point out, largely a reflection of how the 'Boss' operates in the situation and the cues, messages and other sets of experiences which the organisation provide for the workers. (Ziller). The importance of these different sets of cues lies in the fact that, taken together, they build up into a general sort of picture held by the worker of his work situation, and the extent to which the resultant image is congruent with the worker's own expectations of the situation, will determine not only the worker's level of satisfaction with the job, but possibly the emotional wellbeing of the individual. (Kasl and French, Scott). The Head of the organisation is important, in that he largely influences the policy to be followed by the organisation, its structure and the sets of rewards and controls which will be brought into operation. Sometimes these features of the organisation will be explicitly stated for the worker by the management. Knowing where management stands in the situation allows the worker to fix his own position vis-a-vis the organisation. On other occasions, such information on the relationship between the worker and the organisation are not made explicit, or only partially so, and

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R. Trahair. op.cit. (C), p.146
Yarrow et al. op.cit. pp.60-63
R.C.Ziller 'Individuation and Socialization', pp.342-3. Human Relations, Vol.17, 1964.
S.V. Kasl & J.R.P. French 'Occupational Status & Health' pp.74-77. Journal of Social Issues, 1962.
R.A. Scott 'The Factory as a Social Service Organ', Social Problems, p.162, 1968.

it is for the worker himself to fill in the blanks (Jacques). In doing so he or she will look at what the organisation's leaders say and do, and the manner in which these cues are presented to the worker. (Newton). A degree of ambiguity regarding the nature of the objectives of the organisation and its use of staff may possibly be of little concern to those workers who, March and Simon suggest, accept the organisation's definition of the situation because of the worker's concern with the utilitarian aspects of the work contract.[1] However, a situation regarding ambiguity of organisation goals and its particular use of resources, including staff, may be less acceptable to those individuals whose concept of professional self is largely contained in their specialist work activities. Moreover, the organisation's actions will be evaluated against a set of values, in this case service and professional values, which exist independently of the employing organisation, but which, nonetheless, are used by the worker in mapping the direction taken by the organisation's leaders and in evaluating the image of the organisation which results from that comparison.

Several features of the organisation can be seen as providing the worker with information on the nature and objectives of the organisation. The Policy of the organisation informs the members of the short- and long-term objectives of the organisation and the manner in which its resources, includ-

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E. Jaques, op.cit. pp.188-201.
G. Newton 'Adapting to Change.'Social Work, p.7 1968.
1. March and Simon. opcit. pp.90-91

ing staff, might be expected to be used (Etzioni)(Weiland): the Priorities established by the organisation provide the worker with some feedback on the immediate objectives or problems concerning the organisation at any particular point in time; the Control and Reward systems will also be seen as reinforcing those behaviours which the organisation considers desirable and again infer something of the organisation's objectives in the situation; finally, the Type of Work distributed among the workers and the manner in which it is done also provide the workers with cues as to the nature of the organisation's objectives and their own particular relationship with the employing body (Fox). Together, these different sets of information build up into an overall picture held by the worker of the organisation. Such a view of the organisation is important, insofar as it can be seen to provide some sort of mirror image for the worker of his own role in the situation and his 'identity' which results from taking up the expectations of the organisation. How the workerproceeds to evaluate the various aforementioned aspects of the organisation will be influenced largely by his own cultural sets of values and objectives in the situation. One could envisage an organisation where the various features of the organisation, its policy, priorities, rewards, controls and use of its labour force, were all consistent with one another and either in agreement with or in opposition to the values and interests of the workers. In either type situation, one would expect the workers to respond differently according to

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A. Etzioni 'Two Approaches to Organisational Analysis',p.257 'Administration Science Quarterly', Vol.5, 1961.
G.F.Weiland 'The Determinants and Clarity of Organisation Goals', Human Relations, pp.161-3, 1970.
A. Fox. op.cit. pp.21,28.

whether a conflict of interests did or did not exist. Perhaps the more common situation, however, might be one where there is no complete consistency among the features of the organisation (Scott), nor complete agreement among managers and workers (Daniel), but a mixture of contradictory expectations or beliefs on both sides of the enterprise. In such situations, one would expect that the lines of division or agreement would be less clear-cut, and that this would affect both the worker's sense of identification with the organisation and his relationships with it. The object here is to consider the manner in which social work staff interpreted their picture, or image, of their department using the aforementioned features - policy; priority; work allocation; rule enforcement and the resultant image of the organisation to emerge in the mind of the social work staff and how this image affected their own professional self-concept in the situation.

Policy of the Department:

The policy of a department contains certain statements, real or illusory, on the objectives and aims of the organisation.[2] Policy statements tell the worker and the community what 'they', the organisation, are 'doing'. These policy statements will typically contain not only the stated objectives of the organisation, but will also contain values and sentiments which the worker will attribute to these objectives. (Foren and Brown). These sentiments attached to the policy statements of

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Scott. op.cit. pp.165-9
Daniel. op.cit. p.50
A.Etzioni 'Modern Organisations', p.7
Foren and M.J.Brown 'Planning for Service', p.19, 1971.

of the organisation are important in that they help, as in the case of service organisations such as Social Work Departments, to legitimise the activities of the organisation in the community and win resources for it (Blau and Scott), and also provide important sets of identities to which the worker can become committed. (Jones. Theodore).

The situation in Department A was one in which the Director and his executive staff had failed to provide the social worker with explicit information on the policy of the department, either in the short or long-term. 70.3% of social workers in the department, from basic grade to middle management staff, were ignorant of any policy held by the department. Only one social worker felt that the policy of the department was to engage in 'preventive' work on behalf of clients. Moreover, this absence of official policy was a matter of concern for the majority of the social workers, who felt their own personal contribution to the service impaired as a result of the organisation's lack of leadership and aims:

> "Oh! God! I frankly don't know what their policy is. I think we all just muddle on. I think the social workers would like to present a really good casework service, but we don't. Just statutory and emergency work."
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> "I don't think the department has a policy. I don't just speak for myself. One feels very much on one's own."

Blau and Scott. op.cit. p.58
D. Jones 'Towards Integrated Social Work Departments', p.24: Social Work today, 1971.
B.N.Theodore 'Citizen Awareness and Involvement in Poverty Action' p.485, in Social Problems, Vol.19, 1972.

"Very difficult one. I know what the Act says, but we've no fixed programme here."

"Policy? A very good question?. I don't know, I really don't know."

"A mess! No policy in the department. People flounder around not knowing what their function is. They have no idea about where they are going or their boundaries."

In a stable, ongoing organisation, the absence of stated policy objectives by the executive could possibly be compensated for by the workers' knowledge of the organisation's past history and the nature of its work. The policy would be interpreted by the worker as that which was traditionally carried out by the organisation in the past. However, during times of dramatic change affecting both the organisation's activities and its remit, the previous history of the former organisations is not sufficient in itself to provide the social worker with a secure index of present or future aims.(Stinchcombe). The specialist past, as Foren and Brown point out, could no longer be used as the yardstick for the future; The future of the specialist services at that point being very much in the melting pot. However, also in the melting pot were the sets of images, or what Goldthorpe would call 'orientations', held by social workers to the job. The sets of commitments to the specialist nature of social work had been a major reason for remaining in the

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A.L.Stinchcombe 'Social Structure and the Invention of Organizational Forms' in T. Burns (Ed.) Industrial Management, pp.160-1.

Foren and Brown. op.cit. p.10

Goldthorpe, et al. 'The Affluent Worker', Cht.7

service and it was reasonable to suppose that such committed staff would not be content to remain inactive in a situation where personal interests relating to the work situation were left unresolved by management. More especially when the managerial response to the situation was such as to invalidate a number of the concepts workers held of themselves and their work.

Priorities of the Department:

The management's response to the situation confronting the organisation was reflected in the priorities which it established for the workers in the pursuit of their day-to-day activities. The priorities of an organisation are important in so far as they provide some information on the immediate objectives and concerns of the organisation and take on a special significance for the worker when there is an absence of explicit policy statements on the objectives of the organisation forthcoming from the top. To the extent that these work priorities take on some pattern and stability, these priorities can be used by the social workers as a substitute set of cues in determining the organisation's day-to-day objectives, and possibly also its long-term commitments.

If few social workers were aware of any official policy on the part of management concerning the objectives of the organisation vis-a-vis social work and its relationship to the client and the community, social work staff were in no doubt as to the immediate priorities of the department. The majority of social workers (83.3%) believed that the main priority of

of their department was for work which carried a statutory obligation legally binding on the department, and which typically involved some time limit in which the work had to be completed. The department's concern with statutory obligations was not unanticipated and, indeed, some writers on the changeover explicitly stated the necessity for social work departments to place such responsibility at the top of their immediate concerns. (Terry and Kogan). Others, again, recognised the potential conflicts which could result for the social workers presented with organisational demands to limit their activities to the statutory, often more administrative, requirements of the job, and the restriction of the social workers' own sense of professional objectives in the situation. (Maier. Burton. Etzioni). Moreover, Maier makes the point that in the new integrated departments it is the professional identity, rather than the agency employee identity, stressed by Kogan, which ought to take precedence in how the worker interprets and acts in the situation. That such a conflict of interests existed between social workers and management over the determination of the priorities of the department is evident in the following statements, in which social workers interpreted the department's concern for statutory work as a face-saving exercise in a potentially threatening environment. Moreover, few social workers agreed either with the priorities established or the motivation behind the setting of those priorities.

H.W.Maier 'And as Others SeeIt'. Social Work Today, 1971.
J.W.Burton 'Contending Approaches to Social Work', pp.521-30. In Social Work Today, November 1973.
A. Etzioni 'Two Approaches to Organisational Analysis', p.264.
Kogan and Terry. op.cit. pp.17-18

"Things like Court reports that have to be done on time. C.B.O. ought to be seen, but no one checks up on them. It's all very well to talk about priorities, but other clients provide their own priorities. Social work determines its own priorities, but the department says statutory work comes first."

"Department's priorities are statutory work. We must do Court reports. They get done because we get into trouble if we don't do it. Other statutory work - visiting children in care - that's not done. Nobody checks up on it unless something goes wrong. I worry about it."

"Quite a sore point. The department's attitude is that panels and Court reports, C.B.O. must be done. Statutory things which, if not done, might get into the Press. They are very short-sighted. Very important to do good constructive preventive work. I think that's something the department doesn't see."

"H.Q. says certain things are statutory, obligatory, and others are statutory, Permissive, and that we do statutory Obligatory first. From that one would gather that statutory Obligatory is top priority, but in practice it doesn't always happen that way. For example, a councillor might ring H.Q. and say an old person in his ward

is not being seen, and right away you're supposed to drop everything and attend to that as 'top priority'".

"H.Q. will tolerate neglect of C.B.O., but not of the Court. C.B.O. only comes to light when something 'blows up'".

"The priority of the Department? To keep the Courts happy."

"The sheriff whistles and we dance." *

The social workers' criticism of the desirability of the priorities established by the department arose out of the disproportionate weighting which social workers saw as being given to statutory obligations and, more particularly, to those obligations and requests made by the more politically significant sectors of the population. The basis for the criticism rested on the conflicts which meeting such requests generated for workers operating on a more professionally-oriented value system. With respect to the Court and Panel reports, the difficulty lay in that the Courts and Panels had become major clients of the worker in terms of the time involved in meeting the requirements of these bodies. The reports which hopefully went towards the appropriate disposal of clients did not, however, provide the staff needed to cope, either with the new referrals coming from these bodies or with the existing high caseloads of the social work staff. Devoting time to Court and Panel work meant less time was available to devote to existing cases and

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* The changeover period was one in which the Press carried articles of the apparent shortcomings of the new Social Work Departments in adequately servicing the Courts. This was particularly true for the region in which this department operated.

obligations. Attendance at the Courts and Panels, whilst professionally justifiable, nevertheless could be a time-consuming activity. One result of the pressure exerted by the more politically influential groups covered by the statutory obligations of the department was the fact that a minority of the department's clients appeared to receive a disproportionate amount of the social workers' time and energies. Moreover, the utilisation of social workers' time in this way was typically not seen as being merited by 'need', but was rather determined by the political expediency - a situation recognised by other writers on organisations.[1]

Another difficulty for the social workers was the fact that the priorities set by the department did not appear to arise out of any rationally and professionally-based decision on the part of the management, but simply arose out of the exigencies of the moment. The decision of the department to 'buy time', that is, to make money payments to clients on the point of eviction in order to offset receiving the children into care, was not a decision generally welcomed by the social workers. The latter were not against the intervention of the department in the prevention of family breakdown, but rather with the fact that once the monetary help had been given, effective contact between the worker and the client ceased, with the likelihood that the problem would arise again for those same clients within a short space of time. The social

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1. J.Child 'The Business Enterprise in Modern Industrial Society', pp.52-3, 1969.

workers' inability to provide the type of supportive service which they saw as necessary in the situation was the result of the department's ready acceptance of all work to be dealt with by the agency. The department could not be seen as being unable to cope. The decision not to set a ceiling on the volume of cases coming through the department, however, intensified the conflict of the social workers' inability to provide a general service to all of his or her clients, and still attend to the priorities set bythe department.

The average caseload of the social worker in Department A was between 95-100, with a few social workers having over 120 cases apiece. Each social worker had at least some case from a specialist area other than their own previous specialism. Seniors and area officers held between 20/30 cases and, in two instances, between 50/60 cases. Both basic grade and senior staff recognised the professional undesirability of carrying such high caseloads, and whilst the management had suggested that social workers should be encouraged to 'get their caseloads down', they did not provide the staff which would enable the social workers to attempt to do so. In terms of the priorities set by the department and the volume of cases expected to be held by social work staff, the Department A could be seen as not providing important dimensions in the work situation in which to allow the worker to validate a favourable professional concept of self in his or her role.

Work Allocation:

Cases were allocated to staff on two general principles in the department. The first attempted to meet with the department's and, indeed, the social work profession's commitment to the implementation of the concept of the generic, or multi-purpose, social worker.* This commitment involved the worker in taking on cases from specialisms other than his own. The justification of this was that such practice would entail a more efficient use of social work staff and also contribute to the professional development of the social worker and, indeed, the service as a whole. The second principle used by the department in allocating work, however, generally appeared to run counter to its concern for establishing conditions for the developing of generic-based caseloads among staff. This was the more pragmatic decision of the department's middle management staff to get through the work by allocating cases in those areas in which the social worker felt more familiar, or was more competent; a practice which did little more than perpetuate the specialist nature of the social workers' roles in the department. Only 13.5% of the social workers saw themselves as generic-based. The majority of the staff (81.1%), whilst having some other type cases in their caseload, continued to operate

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* Notably against this concept were the Probation Service. See, for example, Probation, 1966-68. Also Jarvis' statement in Social Work, 1968, on the attitude of Probation Officers to the concept of the generic social worker and the unified social work departments.

essentially as specialists within the agency, usually in their former specialist area. A possible limitation to this generalisation of specialist-based caseloads was where the worker was a man, in which case it sometimes seemed that his sex, rather than his previous specialism, appeared to bias his caseload composition towards Probation, even although he still continued to have a large number of his old specialist-type cases on his file. The situation, then, was one where Probation Officers functioned essentially as Probation Officers, ex-Child Care in a Child Care capacity, Welfare, etc., but not so Mental Health. The latter resulted out of the decision on the part of the department not to undertake Mental Health Work as such. However, clients with emotional problems of a mental health type tended to be directed to those officers with Mental Health experience.

The decision by middle management to allocate cases along specialist lines was largely unplanned and influenced by the constraints operating on staff at the point of allocation. Quite often, the severity of the problem or the short deadline, or speed at which appropriate action had to be taken, determined who got the case. Specialists were able, by virtue of the experience in their old field, to get more quickly through the work and with less supervision than were untrained staff, or inexperienced officers. The different specialist social workers had also initially brought over a number of cases with them into the new department, and this introduced a strong initial bias in their work. However, eighteen months after

the official dateline of the change, the majority of these social workers in Department A continued to operate in an essentially specialist manner, in spite of a policy decision and, indeed, a broad professional decision, to integrate the work of the different specialist groups. The professional objectives of the change were in this situation constrained by the administrative necessity of the organisation to get through the work and, in particular instances - such as the Court work - to provide an acceptable standard of work for specialist clients.

The sheer volume of work coming into Department A, and the problems imposed by the necessity to allocate this new work and much of the work of those social workers who had left the department's employ, also acted against the organisation's ability to provide a suitable learning situation for the worker and the latter's professional development. Instead of the professional and theoretically desirable situation of each new referral being discussed by the staff at a meeting with their senior, and then the decision of allocation being made in terms of the needs and skills of the worker matching those of the client and the problems presented by him, the few attempts of staff to mount such meetings were defeated by the administrative need of unloading a high volume of work among its staff. Instead of the needs of the client or the professional development of the worker being an essential criterion for the allocation of cases among staff, there was the arithmetical concern of evening out the size of caseloads among the various

workers. Volume of work, rather than professional considerations, featured most strongly in the minds of senior and basic grade staff alike when it came to the question of "who gets the cases?"!

The volume of work was complicated by the departure of existing staff whose caseloads became the potential responsibility of already pressurised workers. The recognition of the plight of basic grade social work staff having been brought to the attention of seniors by the staff themselves, was often resolved by the senior staff adopting the pragmatic strategy of allowing the caseloads of departing staff to "swing." Teams could have as many as two "swinging" caseloads; that is, caseloads which were the official responsibility of the department, without any officer being delegated to handle these cases. Social workers in the department sarcastically joked about 'the Ghosts' of the department - the non-existent social worker in charge of these very real cases. This response, while temporarily relieving the social worker of a number of additional cases for his file, nevertheless generated a degree of cynicism among the social work staff at the department's apparent indifference by allowing such a situation not only to develop, but also to become an acceptable method of dealing with the problem of staff shortage and resignations.

If the situation of unallocated work was unsatisfactory from the point of view of the basic grade social work staff,it was an equally unattractive solution to the problem for the senior and middle management staff. The latter, by allowing caseloads to "swing", and by their sanctioning of "ghost"

files, were confronted with the possible consequences of the decision of "who takes the can" if and when a case blew up because of lack of support for the client? The over-riding concern of the organisation to maintain the figment of coping in the situation had resulted in this non-professional strategy by staff of allowing caseloads to go OFFICIALLY unattended, since the senior management had been made aware of the pressures in the situation. The latter, however, had been either unable or unwilling to establish ceilings on caseloads which would have been regarded as professionally realistic, nor had they been able to attract more qualified staff into the department in numbers which would replace those members of staff leaving the agency and the extra staff needed to take up the additional volume of work. The difficulties imposed on the social work departments in establishing limits to the number of cases with which the individual could cope had been recognised by a number of professional writers in the field of social work even before the changeover legislation, but these authors were generally more concerned that the decision should be made, not only for the benefit of the professional standards of the worker, but for the benefit of the service which could then be given to the client. (Shaw, Maier).

The social workers' concern with the problems in the departments or its emphasis on the statutory and other face-saving exercises which social workers were expected to engage in on behalf of the organisation, rather than with providing

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M. Shaw 'Scarce Resources and the Social Worker'. Case Conference, pp.217-219. 1968.

Prof.H.W.Maier 'And As Others See It' in Social Work Today, p.24, 1971

a comprehensive service for clients; b) the excessive case-loads which social workers were obliged to carry; and c) the lack of social work staff and the department's inability to attract more recruits, not only acted to colour the social workers' view of themselves as professional people, and whether they qualified for the term, but also to generate particular sets of images about the organisation itself and its executive. The majority of social workers in Department A, ranging from the basic grade to middle management levels (81.1%), held decidedly unfavourable views of the organisation and the method by which it was run. Only two workers (5.4%) saw the department's senior staff in a favourable light. The major criticism voiced by the staff of the executive was the latter's generally unsupportive stance vis-a-vis its social work staff (66.6%). This view was the outcome not only of the department's apparent lack of appreciation of the difficulties facing the social workers in the field and its inability to alleviate these difficulties, but also the added suspicion and fear by workers that their own failure to cope with the difficulties of the situation would somehow be punished by the executive. The situation was one in which the social workers felt obliged to attempt to 'cover themselves' in their work. This suspicion was furthered by the sense of social distance between the field staff and those staff members located at Headquarters:

> "I thought at first it was the volume of work and the changeover, but it's not simply that. It's the department. It's not a humane department.

They treat social workers with less consideration than one would give to the least of your clients. They act as if they don't trust the staff."

"It's an unhappy situation at the moment. 'Them' and 'Us' is more marked than ever before because they never see the social workers. No communication. Rarely see the Director. I've never seen the depute. Who is he? Usually all we get is a curt memo. slating us for something; never to say we've dome something well."

"There's a great deal of insecurity in the department. Probably more now than there was 18 months ago. We've had summary sackings, and that upset the social workers. They felt: how could a department, supposedly interested in people's welfare, treat its social workers like this. Also, there is a feeling here that you can be moved about at a moment's notice."

"I feel the department is falling apart and no one at H.Q. seems to care. No one 'phones you up to say 'you're doing a good job - keep it up.' But, if anything goes wrong, they will be the first to throw you to the wolves."

"When you get a 'phone call from H.Q., your first thought is 'What have I done wrong?', and when you find out that it's not anything, you're so relieved, its incredible. But, it's the thought that, at the back of our minds all, the

time, that the way we are working inevitably means that certain things are not getting done. And that worries us and makes us anxious and depressed."

Moreover, these feelings of staff were not completely unknown to the executive. Senior middle management staff had voiced some of the difficulties, and basic grade staff themselves had taken the opportunity, when it arose, to make the point to those responsible for the overall administration of the organisation:

"I spoke to the Director of the terrible conflict when deciding about what is to get done. You have your C.B.O. and your S.E.R.'s, which all have time limits on them, and you have your Probation to see to. "What happens when you fall behind in any of these because of pressure of work? Would the Department back you up? What do you do?". He just turned away and spoke about something else. He (team senior) brought up the same thing with the Depute Director and he didn't answer the question either. And this is the uncertainty that you have to work with."

Obvious from these statements was the workers' sense of anxiety and injustice in the situation - a situation, moreover, which, if not deliberately created by top management, had been allowed by them to develop. The executive were unsupportive to staff by first allowing the work pressure to reach what the

social workers themselves regarded as unmanageable levels, and then, having allowed the situation to develop, by further appearing to threaten staff because of their inability to cope. Justifiably or not, executive management was personalised by the staff in a negative manner. It was not an objective situation, e.g. pressure of work, which was the focus of their criticism, but rather the people and, more particularly, one person, who was seen as generally responsible. A similar perspective of the situation held by the executive of field work staff also seems evident in the foregoing statements; namely, that the executive appeared to locate the source of the organisation's difficulties in the individual social worker and not in the objective difficulties besetting them both. Possibly this view of the situation by either side was partially influenced by the values on which social work operates, namely its concentration on 'the individual' and the tendency often shown by such workers to divorce the behaviour of the individual from the social context in which he is placed, so that it is his personality, rather than the situation itself, which is at fault. Certainly, if such views did exist, they were enhanced in this department by the centralisation of overall decision-making in the Director and his executive. Lines of communication ran upwards and were seldom seen to run down. Headquarters staff were geographically separate from the other two large divisions and contact between staff and headquarters typically involved going to see the executive, rather than the other way about. Moreover, such contact was rarely one in which all members of

the executive were present, so that information could be 'lost' in the process. One executive member of staff was nicknamed 'the invisible man', because none of the basic grade social workers professed to have seen him. The frustration of social workers lay in the fact that it was through the executive that decisions regarding their own difficulties were made, but that there was no way in which social workers could make contact with them except through their own middle management and the latter, whilst helpful enough at the team level, did not appear particularly effective in altering the problems created by the pressures of the work situation. Basic grade had become more conscious than before of the social distance created between themselves and the executive, both by the physical layout and the size of the department, and also as a result of the image which they attached to the headquarters staff. Moreover, these images and the structure of the department were contrasted by staff with the conditions which they had felt to operate in their previous specialist-based agency. Whilst the views of the staff may appear to romanticise the past, the feelings of those officers were nonetheless real for that:

> "I suppose with people like.....(her old bosses), they really cared and they knew what cases you had, and they would get involved themselves. I suppose because you felt THEY appreciated what you were doing, you felt it was SOMETHING. I suppose in a large department you lose the personal touch. But they don't have to be so inaccessible."

"In the .....department, you had a different atmosphere. You could go in and see (the boss) and he would listen to your problem; may not know the answer, but you felt good. You didn't have to go through any of his seniors, either. Now you can't go directly to the Director. You have to go through all the others first. I suppose it's only fair, but possibly just too rigid."

"You don't feel you can 'go to the boss'. You don't have the feeling that there is any strength anywhere. I've discussed this with the other social workers and each department had a friendliness and unity; but this isn't so now. There is no bond of loyalty. The idea of 'doing it for the department' doesn't exist now."

"In..... I had five weeks' holiday, but I never took them all. Usually settled for three weeks, because you liked your job and didn't want the work to pile up. Now everyone takes everything that is due to them. There is no loyalty to this department. This can't be the way things are?"

"When I was in ..... department, felt people at the top understood you; would stand by you. Don't now."

"It's quite a walk to H.Q. Not like running downstairs and popping in to see the boss."

The significance of the social distance social workers felt to

exist between themselves and the staff at headquarters lay in the evaluations which social workers attached to the relationships. Social workers in at least three of the previous specialist departments had experienced relationships with executive staff who got involved with the work, and who were, moreover, expected by the staff to do so. These workers, too, were peculiar perhaps, in that they worked in the 'caring' professions which recognised as important the worth of the individual. It was not unnatural, therefore, that they should seek such personal recognition of their own status in the department by those responsible for the service. Moreover, service organisations such as Social Work Departments are unlike other formal organisations in as much as both organisation and the social work staff are, theoretically at least, concerned with the same broad goals; namely, to provide a service to the client. The fact that the broad service interests of both the organisation and the workers were similar might have been expected to reduce the divisions within the organisation, whereas, in fact, it simply served to heighten these. In previous specialist departments, the organisation's concern with statutory functions might well have been compensated for by the relative smallness of the agency, and the executive's sharing of the responsibility for the decisions taken. In the existing department, the security of contact between the social worker and the executive staff was absent and the responsibility for the decisions taken by the social workers was seen as theirs alone. The absence of effective support from the executive

management, and the lack of agreement from the social worker on the choice of priorities established by the department, together served to create a situation in which the social worker was unable to validate certain images of his or her professional self which were important to him or her in the work. The executive was seen as 'uncaring', both with respect to the social work staff and towards the climate of the department, and this evaluation arose out of the lack of direction and leadership shown by the executive; the volume of work which had been allowed to increase for staff; the inability to recruit qualified replacements and the department's concern to provide some external front of stability at the possible expense of the service itself. For their part, the social workers evaluated the situation, not wholly in terms of the pressures confronting the organisation, i.e. in terms of demands for certain services and the constraints exerted on the organisation by these external demands; but rather more in terms of the workers' professional values on what the new service 'ought' to be and also compared the existing situation against their service provided to the client by the previous specialist agency, or against the service envisaged by the Act. The most obvious sympton of the changed relationship between field staff and executive staff in the new department was the sense of distrust; a situation of 'We' and 'Them' - common enough, perhaps, in industrial relationships with management[2] but largely absent in the previous

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2 F.C.Mann and L.K.Williams 'Some Effects of the Changing Work Enjoyment in the Office' in 'Journal of Social Issues' Vol.18, 1962.

social work agencies from which these ex-specialist social workers had been recruited.

The Work Situation:

If the organisation, in terms of its executive, did little by way of generating meanings of the work with which the social workers could professionally identify, other possible sources of contact and experience within the work situation at the field work level could possibly serve to alleviate these professionally negative meanings of their role. These other sources or contacts and experiences in this situation were of two kinds; firstly colleagues; since the organisation literature contains numerous examples of how the collegiate group can sustain those values and behaviours desired of staff by the management (Blau. Dalton. Etzioni). The other area of experience was that of the worker's own ability to exercise a degree of discretionary control over his or her activities. To the extent that they were able to employ such control, they were in a position to attempt to create or to sustain those aspects of their work situation which would contribute to their sense of professional identity. Dorothy Smith suggests that workers who operate in the 'field' and outwith the immediate control and visibility of the organisation, as, in this instance, social workers, such people do possess an important degree of self-determination regarding how they will pursue their activities on behalf of the employing agency. In this section, the dis-

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P. Blau 'Dynamics of Bureaucracy', pp.183-192.
M. Dalton in W.F.Whyte, et al. 'Money & Motivation', pp.39-49. 1955
A. Etzioni. op.cit. p.35, 1964.
D. Smith op.cit.

cussion will centre around the extent to which these contacts with colleagues and the workers' own attempts to organise their work efforts were such as to generate any particular set of images for the workers, either in sustaining a professional image of their work or interfering with the establishment of such identities.

In Department A, the colleague staff continued to provide the social worker with an important set of significant others, that is, individuals who could be used by the worker as some anchorage point in determining their own position in the situation. Whereas in the social work literature it is typically the senior social work staff who are seen with the task of providing the support for the social work field staff as an essential feature of their role, in practice the situation in the department was one in which the colleague work staff turned for support to colleagues, and only 30% of staff saw the seniors as having provided them with any degree of support in their work. The support among the basic grade social work staff took the form of the sharing of information relating to procedures in the previous specialist fields and with encouraging each other in the initial attempts to do such work. Listening to one another's problems, a situation similar to that remarked upon by Blau, in another social work agency, also featured strongly as an element in their relationships with one another.[3]

> "We have a system of 'shoring up' a member of the team who is cracking-up. It's common for two or

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3. Blau 'Dynamics of Bureaucracy'. Op.cit. pp.171-174.

three social workers in the team to sit down and get the person to talk about the case that's worrying her. We did a lot of swopping of information - Probation and Child Care work."

The importance of this type of support lay in the absence of training instruction and preparation of staff for these new areas of work. Instead, the worker learned by doing the job. This typically meant that the rate of operations in doing the task was slower and fraught with more anxieties than possibly would have been the case had official procedures and instructions been given to social workers in advance of their having to do the work.

The support from colleagues rather than from senior staff in the department resulted from a number of inter-related factors. To begin with, because of the pressures of work, ongoing supervision of staff by the senior was not the norm of this department. However, related to these pressures were other sets of factors influencing the move away from ongoing supervision. The first of these was the fact that senior officers in the department were essentially promoted specialist social workers. This meant that by and large, the senior's range of experience, outwith his or her specialist branch of the service, was meagre. Moreover, a number of these seniors had never acted in a supervisory capacity prior to their promotion, so that their possible contribution to the demands made by the worker for knowledge on a variety of areas and perhaps insights into those problems was, at that stage of the changeover, just not available in many instances. Social workers in this study, even before the change,

had little desire to accept the automatic authority of any senior who happened to be placed over them. Much more important was whether the senior was professionally competent in that role. These same sets of evaluations of senior staff continued to operate among social workers after the change, but largely to the detriment of the senior, who was now seen as being less competent, and, indeed, who often felt less competent in the generic senior role.* Rather than approach the senior and enquire about information which staff believed he would not possess, social workers approached other individuals, typically colleagues who were trained or experienced in that particular area. The seniors themselves often accepted this solution to the problem in that it allowed their own inadequacies in the situation to remain unexposed and also relieved them from the pressures of some of the demands of staff on their time.

For their part, the social workers were equally prepared to forego ongoing supervision with senior staff, but for reasons other than the professional limitations of the expertise of the supervisor. Their motivations to avoid supervision arose out of personal strategies in overcoming the pressures of large caseloads. Because of pressures of work, (or at least attributed to that cause by the social worker), social workers in the department generally neglected the recording of information on the visits and progress of the client. The absence of documented information on the case records was a major reason in the social workers' willingness to forego the supervisory session,

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* I.Page also speaks of this problem in 'A Social Work Amalgamation', New Society, October 1968, as do Scott, A.Etzioni, 'The Semi-Professions', pp.92-4.

or to minimise these contacts with senior staff. Instead, supervisory sessions were used by social workers as 'consultation' sessions with the senior. Here the social worker attempted to define the situation by asking for points of clarification on procedures, policy, or with discussing the possible implications of one or two difficult cases with the senior, rather than engaging in a supervisory relationship with the senior. The general view of the supervision session was that it was simply an occasion when the social worker kept the senior officer informed about his or her cases in a broad sense. The senior was often just someone who signed requisition forms or authorisation certificates for the staff. The use of the senior as a means of expanding the professional horizons of the social worker was typically not undertaken by seniors in the department. Those seniors who were more professionally experienced in the work and who were concerned with providing that sort of learning experience were confronted by the pressures which they knew to be operating on staff in terms of caseload size and the degree of recording, and this knowledge interfered with their own ability to make demands on the worker:

> "It's just going over what you are doing. You take to them what YOU want them to see or help you with."
>
> "I don't do records (keep files up to date), which means I only take in (for supervisor's inspection) those files that are written up. But I discuss other cases which I haven't taken in and which aren't written up."

The seniorstaff colluded with the worker unofficially by recognising that records were not being kept up to date by the field work staff and by refusing to apply any degree of pressure on staff to rectify the situation. Occasionally the situation of the recording would get so far behind that the senior would be forced to instruct the social workers to stop all work and bring their cases up to date. Even here, the request was generally that there would be 'something' on the file. Summaries of the situation were sought by the seniors, rather than process recording which was too time-consuming, although it may contain professional insights, both to what was going on in the situation of the client and also into the thought processes of the worker. The fact that the senior staff in the department did not generally press for records to be kept up to date did not remove the pressures of work, nor did it resolve the anxieties which the neglect of records aroused in the field work staff. Staff continually reminded themselves and one another of their inability to control their recording, and from this shared experienced seemed to derive an uneasy sense of security from the knowledge that, at least, they were not alone in the situation. Their security was uneasy, however, because of the absence of the support which they believed they could expect from the executive. Social workers spoke of at least two occasions where staff had been "got", on their failure to keep records up to date, and had been advised to leave the department. The executive's motivation for the dismissals was subject to rumour, but the 'facts' were 'real' enough to the

social workers - the state of the records and the departure of two of their colleagues.

The significance of colleage relationships for the social workers in the department, and the desire on the part of the worker to retain colleague support, was further highlighted in the manner whereby social workers attempted to control the number of cases referred to themselves by the senior socialworker of the team. Whilst almost every social worker in the various teams could be said to be under pressure of large caseloads, individual social workers were reluctant to press for a reduction in the demands made on them by senior staff and individual officers who, in fact, asked for a limit placed on the number of new referrals given to them by senior staff expressed feelings of guilt at having done so.

> "The situation was where you were all sitting in the group and you just felt you had to take one (a case) at least, whether you wanted it or not."

> "There would be a deadly hush. There was a sort of group pressure, with everyone saying nothing and someone was forced to pipe up and say "Yes, I'll take it"."

The pressure on the individual to behave in this manner in the face of organisational deficiencies in the service had been remarked upon by other writers on the social work profession with the rider that such actions, whilst indicative of the professional and personal sense of responsibility on the part of the social worker, was not in the long-term interests either of the

profession or of the client (Shaw). To the extent that such a viewpoint was shared by social work staff, the latter were placed in a difficult situation; namely, that of impairing social work ideals of service and that of supporting their colleagues in the situation. The build-up of pressures of caseloads, however, resulted in the introduction of one strategy which attempted to alleviate some of the conflict arising between a sense of obligation to one's professional self and to the other members of staff on the team. The strategy involved the move from the allocation of cases within the team and in the presence of the other social workers to the direct allocation of the case(s) by the senior. It was easier for the social worker to challenge the senior over the allocation of new work, since this did not directly involve the other social workers in his or her decision. The sense of not pulling his or her weight in the team could be countered in the one-to-one situation with the senior, who could be made aware of the particular set of difficulties besetting that worker, a strategy which was less possible in the open group system of allocation. The support of colleague staff, therefore, engendered both a sense of security and of tension for the social workers in that their loyalties to the group imposed psychological limitations on their ability to openly reject cases, since, by doing so, they placed the burden of the work on the other members of the group. By refusing to set limits to their caseloads, however, they imposed practical limits to the extent towhich they could operate as a professional in the situation with all their various clients.

M.Shaw. op.cit.

This conflict of loyalties also showed itself in the social workers' relationships with their immediate seniors on this same issue of case referrals. The knowledge that some seniors had attempted to restrict the number of cases allocated to the social work staff, either by establishing 'ghost' files within the team, sitting on enquiries or dealing with them themselves by letter, served to colour the social worker's view of each new request to take on more work. By making the social work staff knowledgeable that seniors were attempting to protect the social worker from pressures of work and by indicating to them something of the volume of cases which would not be allocated within the team, social workers were virtually blackmailed by staff to view those cases to be allocated at the meeting, as necessary:

> "We said repeatedly that we had enough (cases), but I think the senior screens a lot that never come near us. So that those you do get are necessary."

The acceptance of caseloads of 90 and upwards, of course, negates many of the principles on which good social work practice is thought to operate.* It is physically impossible, in terms of sheer time available, to develop and sustain a case-work-type relationship with the individual client, which is an all-important element of the work. (Feraud and W. Hunneybun) the importance of the sustained relationship lying not only in the change which such a relationship might hopefully bring about in the client, but also because of the fact that it is

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* F.Page 'A Social Work Amalgamation' New Society 1968 (Oct.) gives caseload size of 50 as maximum.
M.Feraud and W.Hunneybun: 'The Caseworker's Use of the Relationship', Chapter 4.

through the relationship that the social worker is primarily able to validate that concept of his or her role as a professional and/or a social worker. It is only by acting out the role that the image and commitments to that role are sustained. Moreover, much of the professional social work activity is a reflective activity, in that the social worker is required to ponder over the happenings in the client's situation in an attempt to understand both the client and his problem. Such diagnosis is fundamental to the treatment plan or line of approach to be pursued with the client. This particularisation of the client and his problem is explicit in social work philosophy. The client is first and always an individual, with individual problems and needs, but always of human dignity and worth. A rubber-stamp view of the service is nowhere appropriate in the philosophy and ideals of the social work profession (Stevenson). Confronted with the organisational demands of the situation, the majority of the social workers attempted to establish their own immediate priorities in the work allocated to themselves. The priorities which were established were important, in as much as they provided useful indicators of the sets of commitments and identities which the workers were in the process of establishing for themselves in the situation.

The Social Workers' Priorities:

The immediate priorities of Department A, in so far as social workers could determine, from either memos. issued by

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O. Stevenson. 'The Understanding Caseworker', New Society, August 1963.

the executive or feed-back from seniors and colleagues, was the department's concern for statutory work with specific time limits, and particularly work which could result in public disgrade for the department if it were not completed on time or carried out at a satisfactory level. Typically, this was work for the Courts, Panels and any politically powerful group in the community - for example, a councillor who had an interest in seeing to it that some service was provided to a particular client. The most persistent claim on the time of the social worker was that imposed by the compilation of background reports for the Courts or Children's Panels and the worker's possible attendance at these meetings. Whilst these commitments on the social workers represented a fraction of the demands made on them by their ongoing caseload, such work for these bodies involved a degree of preparation, both in the collection, the preparation and, sometimes, the attendance of the social worker at the hearing. The time which was devoted to this type of work had to be weighed against the total caseload commitments of the individual worker. Having caseloads of around one hundred made it virtually impossible for them to operate in every case with professional standards; having certain categories of work designated top priority by the executive also tended to impose a degree of imbalance in the work actually undertaken. Moreover, this imposed division of interests in caseloads was generally regarded as unfair and often the least unproductive use of the social workers' time. Nevertheless, social workers in the department recognised the

imposition of the framework in which they operated and the resultant necessity to attempt to fulfil the statutory obligations of the department. The choice, however, was rarely seen by social workers as the appropriate basis for determining the use of staff resources.

The attitudes towards the statutory duties of the department and the sense of commitment to these duties varied greatly with the status position of the worker. There was, in keeping with Scott's findings,[4] a distinct cleavage among basic grade and senior staff with respect to which either group upheld the department's definition of statutory work as being of major importance. 93.3% of senior staff saw as one of their main priorities the implementation of those priorities set by the department. Only one-third of the senior, middle management staff indicated as a main priority the support and development of the basic grade social worker. Conversely, only 4.5% of the basic grade social work staff accepted the organisation's priorities as exclusive in the situation. The majority of basic grade social workers had sets of priorities other than those set by the executive. (Pugh. Moffett).

Every social worker in Department A recognised the impossibility of operating with their large caseloads. Nor, indeed, did any social worker appear to attempt to do so. Instead, social workers operated with approximately 20% of their caseload on anything like a regular basis and with

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4. Scott. op.cit. p.97
E. Pugh 'Social Work in Child Care', pp.101-4/109-110 (1968).
J. Moffett 'Concepts in Casework Treatment', p.13 (1968).

about 60% of their total caseload from time to time. The minority of the cases which the social worker worked with, apart from the statutory commitments already referred to, were composed of two main categories of client who, for one reason or another, made a particular impact on the social worker. The main sources of this impact discernable in the situation were of two types: these were Crisis cases (20.8% gave this as their major personal priority in the work), and Specialist-type work (45.9%). The situation was typically not an 'either/or' situation. A number of social workers contained both concerns, but generally the weighting tended to be either with crisis or work of a specialist nature.

A crisis situation in social work is typically concemed with some unexpected development in the situation of the client. A development, moreover, which appears to demand the more or less immediate intervention on the part of the social worker in order to avert the crisis, or to modify the situation in some way to the benefit of the client. Typical crisis situations might be threats of eviction, evictions, homelessness, desertion of children, illness, etc. Such crisis situations were not new to social workers, but in their former fields would appear to have been more strongly associated with the previous specialist field of Child Care. (Stevenson). This was partly the result of the nature of the clientele and of the caseloads carried by large Local Authority departments. In this particular situation, the caseload size appeared to be a

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Stevenson. op.cit.

strong factor in the social worker's inability to provide ongoing support or supervision of the case. By narrowing their activities principally to only those cases which 'blew up', social workers deliberately chose to ignore other cases on their files. Some social workers did attempt to retain some sort of contact with those clients who might present the workers with a problem at some later stage, but the situation for many more social workers was one where they moved from one crisis situation to another:

> "You only deal with the crisis situation. After the problem is worked out, the case is temporarily suspended until a crisis builds up again."
>
> "There's no preventive work here. No one likes it, but you can't do anything about it."
>
> "You spend less time visiting because of the work load. You've somany cases 'blowing up' and people coming into the office because they weren't being seen."
>
> "Crises have to be dealt with as quickly as possible. I let sleeping dogs lie till something develops. It means you have more crisis work that way, but you have to learn to live with it."

The social worker's solution to the problem imposed by carrying over-large caseloads, namely that of attempting to attend to crisis-type work at the expense of other cases held by the worker, only served to perpetuate their difficulties, since

clients who were not being seen were likely to develop into future crisis cases. Significantly, those social workers who were more inclined to focus more exclusively on statutory and crisis work were typically the untrained members of staff, of whom there were many in the department.

The second response made by social workers in establishing their own personal priorities in the situation was concerned, as Blaikie suggests, with retaining some particular interests of their own. 87.3% of the basic grade staff operated in a semi-specialist manner, both in terms of the actual weightings of their caseloads and in their response to the handling of these cases. This response was particularly true of the two largest contingents in the department - the ex-Child Care and former Probation staff - and less true of the ex-Welfare and former Mental Health Officers. In the case of the latter, Mental Health had ceased to be regarded as a service to be provided by the department, so that actual opportunities to concentrate on that area did not exist for these former specialist officers. Typically, the former ex-Mental Health Officers focused on the statutory (particularly Courts) and crisis demands of their work. For the former Child Care and ex-Probation staff, on the other hand, the situation eighteen months after the change was one which encouraged the perpetuation of a specialist-type image and concern. The caseloads of these officers were heavily biased in the direction of their former specialist areas. This caseload bias had arisen out of a number of different factors. There were the pragmatic con-

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N.W.H.Blaikie 'Towards a Theoretical Method for the Study of Occupational Choice', p.313. Sociology, Vol.5, 1971.

siderations in the situation. It was easier for senior staff to delegate specialist-type work to those members of staff who were more familiar with that area, especially when the amount of knowledge or the standard of the work required was high and/or where the work was being critically evaluated by some external agency or group. The department attempted to retain these standards by deploying those people for the work who were most competent in that area, and this typically meant a specialist in that field. Also, the sheer volume of work coming to the department tended to be heaviest in what were formerly designated as Probation and Child Care duties. This was principally because the legislation tended to protect and enhance the interests of these areas - the criminal and the family with children - rather than the interests of the elderly, the handicapped or the mentally ill, when cases were actually referred by the department. The structural constraints in the situation, therefore, appeared to contribute heavily to the creation and maintainance of essentially specialist caseloads held by staff, and this bias within the social worker's cases acted as a strong influence on the personal work priorities established by a number of members of staff:

> "I concentrate on about TEN FAMILIES. Other families, I let visit me. Probation report to me. Old people, I do the initial application. Otherwise, tend to leave them (the elderly) alone." (Ex-Child Care).

"I prefer to concentrate on KIDS and FAMILIES, and try to keep them together. But everything is a priority." (Ex-Child Care).

"My continuing cases are PROBATION cases, although pressure of work is making Probation cases slip, too. Families are 90% financial and I think that that sort of work is hellish. I feel you pay the bill and before you know it, they have another bill to pay." (Ex-Probation).

"S.E.R.'s, from my point of view, have high priority. Visits and C.B.O. low priority. With S.E.R.'s you have a deadline; you don't with C.B.O." (Ex-Probation).

On one occasion, however, a former specialist (Welfare) Officer moved away from her own mainly specialist-biased caseload to focus on a minority of cases from another specialism:

"I have about sixty old people, but I don't do as much for them as I could. I find it a bit of a bore. I mean, you could leave them for a couple of months and find that nothing had happened in that time. I prefer working with other cases - probation and that. It's more interesting. I don't like families."

Part of the explanation for this worker's adopting an unfavourable attitude towards her clientele - the elderly - lay in the nature of the values towards the different categories of

of clientele coming from both the executive - by way of directives and priorities - and from the specialist staff from the other disciplines. The department placed a relatively low priority on work with the elderly and the handicapped, as these services had never been developed in the past and, as a group, they lacked political significance. Among the professional social workers, too, specific ideologies favouring a concern for the elderly were not nearly so developed as those governing the work either with the criminal or the family, both of which were also the largest sources of referral to the department. In this respect, Yarrow's notion that the structure of the situation brings about conformity with new norms despite contrary attitudes held by the worker in a previous situation appears to be justified.[5] In the case of the ex-Probation and ex-Child Care staff, however, the structural constraints operating on the department to get through the work and which generally resulted in the pragmatic response of delegating specialist-type tasks, largely to specialist workers, tended to perpetuate old specialist commitments rather than to diminish these. The structure of the department's demands, therefore, was such as to allow the former specialists in the Probation and Child Care fields to continue to validate particular specialist identities in their work, whilst the opposite was the case for the former Welfare and Mental Health staff, for whom little opportunity existed

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E. Yarrow. et al. p.60.

to validate favourable concepts of themselves as specialists in the situation.

The social worker's establishment of personal sets of priorities in the work, however, necessitated the neglect of other aspects of the work, since, by choosing what they would do, they also determined what they would ignore. What was ignored in the situation were those aspects of the work which held relatively low priority for the worker, either before or after the change. Fine supervision work and C.B.O. work, together with work with the elderly, received low priority among social work staff. These demands on the time of the social workers had less significance than those demands generated by other categories of client which possessed more professionally developed concepts and ideologies of need. Children boarded-out were already 'in care' and, therefore, being looked after. This acted as a sort of consolation to hard-pressed social work staff, whose focus of attention was on those children who as yet lacked such care, either within the community or under the protection of the authority. The fact, too, that children were often boarded-out miles from the department meant that the constraints imposed on building up a relationship with these children, quite apart from the constraints imposed by the social workers' high caseloads, were extremely great. Preventive work with families, on the other hand, where the belief existed that something could yet be done, therefore took precedence in the mind of the social worker. Likewise, Fine supervision work, regarded by ex-

Probation staff as being of relative unimportance, continued to be regarded in this way by those members of staff who had had such cases referred to them for action.

Another general low work priority among these social workers was the keeping of ongoing case records of clients on their caseload. The majority of the social workers were behind in their recording of information on visits to, and the progress of, their clients. Such recording was seen as being of secondary importance to seeing the clients, and had certainly existed in numerous departments prior to the changeover where the staff suffered from an excess of work.

> "When it comes to a choice between seeing the client or doing the write-up, I see the client. You can't do them both."

This was the situation echoed, in a variety of forms, by the social workers in the department.

The decision of social workers to allocate these different aspects of their work to a low priority position on their caseload and in their performance of their duties, did not remove the concern experienced by these workers in having made such a decision. Nor did it remove the problems which such a decision generated for the worker. Social workers were generally concerned by their neglect of the elderly and of children in care, etc., and were conscious of the needs of these people, which had gone unmet by the social workers as a result of their own decision to establish priorities in their work. The non-recording of information

on case-files, whilst generally accepted by social workers and tolerated by senior staff at the middle-management levels, did mean that some months could pass without either a client being seen or a visit recorded. Continuity of the case was made difficult - not only for the social worker, responsible for those particular clients, but also, in their absence, for any other social worker who was called upon to take up the case, but found no information written up on the client in the files.

> "You can't work with caseloads of about a hundred. More important to have the contact and to do something than to write it up. It's shocking, as far as professional standards are concerned. If you're off sick, no one has a clue about what is going on."

> "You should see files of mine, given to me last year and I haven't been seen once. And I don't think that's unusual. I've looked at other people's files in the duty room and see nothing on them either."

The non-recording of information on the clients' record sapped the ability of the social worker to establish and maintain a favourable professional concept of self in the situation. This difficulty arose out of the significance given by the professional training bodies to recording as an important tool in helping the client and in assessing the degree of 'movement' both in the case and professionally in the social workers

themselves. (Timms). The general absence of recorded information on the files also meant that official supervision with senior staff which might have helped the social worker's professional development were avoided, or only minimally used by both sides - the social worker and the senior. This was not to say that no recording whatsoever took place, but rather that general recording for professional reasons was not undertaken by staff. Much of the motivation behind those records which were maintained was prompted by reasons of self-protection by the social worker in the face of some future possible confrontation either with colleagues or some superior body within the department or concerned with the department's work:

> "I try to do summaries. Good thing if you are off sick. Sometimes I make odd notes in a notebook, but not often. I write it down for OTHER people. To PROTECT yourself. It's a terrible reason for writing things up!"
>
> "Not having files up to date, there's always a chance of a spot check."
>
> "If seniors found out nothing is on the file, they give you a rocket and tell you to get it done. But, we don't have a regular check-up. But if they did, we would all be 'out' (of a job). It happened to .... and .... It made us all panic and try for a while, but it fell through again."

N. Timms 'Recording in Social Work', pp.34-7 (1972).

For a very few social workers, the conflict between the administrative demands of the situation, to keep records up to date, and the professional commitments to the other elements of the work, were resolved in favour of the administration, but not apparently without cost. The price of establishing an administrative commitment on the part of the social worker appeared to be the loss of a sense of professional identity for the worker in his or her role, together with a loss of social work service to the client:

> "Some social workers feel more guilty than I do about NOT visiting. I do LESS for the client, and that's what I mean by 'focussing on the system' first. My records are always up to date."

The work situation for the social workers in Department A was such that the majority of the staff found difficulty in validating a professional concept of self. This difficulty arose out of the conflict of ideologies on which both the executive and the social workers operated in the situation. For the executive, the statutory and administrative obligations binding on the department were of primary importance, whilst for social workers much more emphasis was given to the professional obligations to a wider category of clients who were also covered by the new legislation. The involvement of staff in new areas of work and the general lack of preparation of staff by either the executive or the middle-management staff, also acted to highlight in the staff a sense of

incompetency in the work situation and this, too, reflected back on their self-image as a professional worker. Over-large caseloads necessitating the need to establish priorities, and the absence of a secure context in which to decide these priorities, also acted to instill a negative view of both management's handling of the situation and the effects of such a situation on the social workers' own professional standing and development. Moreover, the social worker's inability to validate a favourable professional self-concept was evaluated not simply in objective and impersonal terms by the worker, but also in an affective manner as a result of the sense of involvement which many of these officers had in their work. The situation created by the changeover had involved a variety of stresses for the worker, and these were largely induced by the demands made on them by the management at both executive and middle-management levels, and the manner in which these demands were proferred to the social worker.

Stress:

Gurin et al. (1960) indicated that workers with high status jobs will tend to become more involved in their work than will people in low status positions. That by internalising the demands of the work situation in this way, the individual worker develops particular sets of sub-identities which tend to reflect both on the individual's sense of prestige and standing, both within the organisation and In the community at large. (Kasl and French). This sub-identity

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C.V.Gurin et al. 'Americans View their Mental Health: A Nation-wide Interview Survey'.

S.V.Kasl & J.R.P.French 'Occupational Status and Health', p.74 in Journal of Social Issues, Vol.18, 1962.

generated by the individual's work within the organisation is, in the case of professional workers, further evaluated against the image of the work which is propagated by the professional association to which the worker is attached. To the extent that the worker places an emphasis on the satisfaction of his professional image in the work, he will seek to avoid those situations in the work in which he will suffer a loss of this professional self-esteem. (Kasl and French: Wolfe and Snoek). The worker determines his self-concept in the work situation by comparing the demands made on his time and activities by the organisation with those dimensions of his work which he would require to satisfy in order to retain his professional identity. (Strauss et al.). The professional worker's performance on the job provides the feed-back with which he is able to build up, maintain or refute his occupational self-identity. The worker's ability to maintain a level of performance in the job which would allow him to validate a professional concept of self is, therefore, critical in his satisfaction with his role and the degree of self-esteem he will be able to draw out of the situation. Moreover, conflict resulting from the workers' inability to validate favourable images of themselves will result in both physical and emotional stress for those workers who have a heavy investment in the work situation. (Goldberg). In the case of

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Kasl & French et al. op cit. pp.75-7
D.M.Wolfe and J.D.Snoek 'Tensions & Adjustment'. Journal of Social Issues, Vol.18, 1962, pp.102-7.
Strauss et al. 'Professional Ideologies & Institution', pp.147-8.
E.M.Goldberg. 'Working with the Family in the Child Care Field', pp.4-5.

the social workers, these officers could be regarded as having a fairly high social status in the community and to have operated in an occupational area which generated particular concepts of the nature of the work and work identities for its staff. Among the workers were a number of professionally trained members and individuals who had been encouraged to view social work in these broad professional terms. One could, therefore, legitimately expect to find a degree of involvement by these workers in their work, and some indication of stress where the conditions imposed by the work situation interfered with, or ran contrary to, the sets of commitments associated with the professional nature and demands of the job.

Every social worker in the study indicated that they had experienced some strains as a result of the changeover, and in the pursuit of their own individual roles within the department. These strains were of two broad types, the one relating to the objective problems arising out of the demands of the new situation, such as that of having to learn new procedures and to undertake large caseloads, and the difficulties experienced by the shortage of staff in the department. These problems were largely shared by the total work force. However, for a second group (48.6%) these difficulties were further heightened by the workers' own sense of failure to maintain professional standards, by an unwillingness to become fully involved in the work of other specialisms, and the general lack of support from the executive of the department, and it was this group, which was approximately half the

department's staff, who developed physical and emotional symptoms of illness and stress in the situation. Typical accounts of the impact of the stress and the ways in which it manifested itself among the staff are contained in the following statements:

> "I had to stop overtime. Too much on tablets to cope. Not the only one, either."
>
> "The changeover has been a bit of an emotional strain on myself and on my family. My kids are not seeing me."
>
> "Feel I've been near cracking-up lately. Just back from being off sick with virus. Felt it was heaven-sent. I've never got to know my doctor so well as since I came into this department. I hadn't been ill since 1948. I just couldn't cope. There was so much to do."
>
> "There were days when I just couldn't face another client. That's when my files got done. I could take a simple cold and be off for a week. I couldn't relax, and at night I was 'bushed'; too tired to relax."
>
> "Honestly, the anxiety and low morale of this department is dreadful. People grumbling and spending more time over coffee. A sort of escapism. People going off sick. ..... had a heart attack. People 'phone up - they won't be in; had enough."

"You felt that if you went to someone and said 'I'm not taking any more (work, then you felt that you were the next one to crack up."

"It's no exaggeration to say that all of us are in a pretty bad way at the moment."

Wolfe and Snoeck state that the ability to cope with the problems and stresses which arise out of the work situation is a function of both the personality of the individual worker and the situational constraints prevailing within the organisation itself.[1] Equally important, however, are the problems with which the individual has to cope and whether these can be seen to reside within the worker himself or to be generated largely by the employing organisation. If stress were a function of the individual's personality, one might expect the sources to which people attributed the stress to show a wide degree of variability, since one typically does not consider any two personalities to be alike. When, however, the source of the problem is located by the stress group to a set of factors which are limited and located in the structure of the organisation, then it is perhaps fair to suggest that the organisational structure is, if not greater than the personality factors operating in the situation, at least of equal significance. This study was not designed to test personality factors, but sociologists looking at stress situations of other workers have suggested a number of stress factors, some of which were

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1. Wolfe and Snoeck. op.cit. p.102.

certainly in evidence in this particular department. Vroom and Trahair have each cited the importance of the worker's sense of personal achievement when engaging in those activities which he can regard as complete and meaningful in the work situation. The importance of the completed nature of the tasks lies in the fact that the workers' actions permit them to establish and/or validate a favourable image of their role, and their contribution within the organisation. It would then follow that work which was left uncompleted or neglected by workers with this orientation to their work would generate tensions and conflicts for the individual in the organisation, since it is largely through the completion of the task that the worker validates his or her concept of self as a particular kind of worker.

In social work, there is often no stage at which the social worker can state with any certainty that the case has been completed either satisfactorily or otherwise. Even in Probation-type work, where the officer has the client for a specific period of time, he might feel that supervision could still be of benefit to the client even although the relationship is officially terminated. Some cases may last no more than a few meetings, while others may be with the social worker for some years. Few social workers have the certainty that after X number of visits or Y number of weeks, a case will be terminated and the social worker and client both satisfied with the result of their mutual encounter. Instead of the number

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V.H.Vroom 'Work & Motivation' (1964).
R.C.Trahair. op.cit. p.145 (1968) 'Workers' Judgement of their Job'

of visits, the period of time or the specific nature of the problem, the social worker typically relies on the relationship which he or she establishes with the client as both the means of effecting some improvement in the client's situation and also with providing the worker with cues as to the stage of development which a particular client has reached. Completeness for the social worker's situation, therefore, needs to be broadened, so as not to refer simply to the termination of the client/worker contact, but rather to the worker's sense of maturation of the relationship with the client. It is the movement towards a rounded relationship, so central to the social work situation, which is of importance to the worker, and the absence of which generates a source of tension. The tension arose in this particular situation not simply as a result of the fact that the social worker's ability to establish satisfactory relationships with the client had been impaired, but rather the reasons or the causes of the impairment. Social workers accept the value of self-determination of the client and the fact that the client can terminate the relationship at any time, unless there is some legal obligation on the client to continue the supervision. The social worker is less accepting, however, of administrative constraints which act in a manner so as to impair the client/worker relationship.[7]

Social workers in Department A were placed in a situation where the administrative demands of the organisation, in terms of volume of work going to the social worker and the

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7. Shaw. op.cit.
Maier.op.cit.

emphasis placed by the department on statutory obligations, acted in ways to put physical constraints on the social workers' ability to attempt to establish and maintain professionally meaningful relationships with the clients. Longer hours did not enable these workers to overcome the demands imposed on them by their large caseloads and the department's objectives in the situation. The absence of support from the executive only served to heighten the conflict experienced by staff. The focal concern of either group - the social workers and the executive - seemed poles apart, with the former focusing on the ideological commitments to the client and the service and the executive concentrating on the pragmatic and political constraints of the situation. The continuation of the conflict over the demands made on the staff followed a pattern outlined by Wolfe and Snoeck, where both job satisfaction and confidence in executive staff became undermined.

> "Not only is the conflict situation difficult in itself; it apparently makes the person's total experience in the organisation stressful and unpleasant."[8]

Not everyone in the department responded to the demands of the situation by developing physical and emotional symptoms of stress. Two groups particularly appeared to be less susceptible in this respect than others, and whilst personality factors were also possibly operating in the situation, structural

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8 Wolfe and Snoeck. op.cit. p.118

factors concerning the position of these groups in terms of either the demands made on them or the position of a group in the hierarchy of the organisation, appeared to protect these people from the more severe conflicts experienced by other staff members. The two least susceptible groups were the Probation Officers and the seniors at middle-management levels. The former continued to act essentially as specialists in the department. As such, the conflict generated by the department's concern for statutory work relating to the courts did not have the same meaning for these ex-Court Officers than that same priority had for other specialist staff. Moreover, the Probation group, even before the change, had also been the most self-sufficient group of social workers, being professionally trained in their specialist area and generally holding strongly to the value of professional autonomy and independence in their work. Whilst these officers were subject to a small number of generic cases on their caseload, these cases typically carried less sense of departmental urgency or importance, and this enabled the Probation staff to place these other specialist cases on a priority scale which they personally established for themselves. Other specialist staff, however, were obliged to take up Court and Panel work, which did receive a strong departmental priority and which, regardless of the worker's own sense of preferences, had to receive attention. The pressures exerted by a politically powerful group in the community (Courts, Panels), therefore, appeared to generate problems for those social

workers who had no specialist commitment to the group's requirements, but put less pressure on those who had hitherto been directly associated with, and committed to, its aims. The demands of the situation, therefore, operated discriminately among the field work staff.

The second group to be relatively immune from stress in the situation, or to admit less often to such physical andemotional stress, were the senior members of staff in the department. This appeared to result from their position within the organisation, which placed them generally at one remove from the field and the pressures exerted at field level. Away from the demands of the face-to-face situation involved in actually dealing with clients, senior members of staff could adopt a more objective view of the situation, or, rather, a more administrative view of the demands of the organisation. Senior social workers in the department were essentially concerned with the administrative problems of allocating the volume of work, and not with actually undertaking the work which had been allocated, which was the task of the social worker. Nor did the senior officer accept responsibility for the social worker's failure to meet all the demands of the situation. Indeed, it was the general absence of senior and executive acceptance of accountability which generated the feelings of insecurity among the staff. The problems besetting the senior members of staff, therefore, were of a different order to those operating in the field, and this was in keeping with the findings of Scott,

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Scott. in A.Etzioni. 'The Semi-Professions'

Wolfe, Shaw and others.

No difference emerged among the stress and non-stress groups, however, in terms of the sex of the worker, the age of the worker, the section of the department in which the social worker operated, or between trained and untrained staff. Only membership of Probation specialism or senior rank appeared to protect the individual, and this immunity arose out of their particular view of the demands made by the department, and the extent to which these demands could be readily met by themselves, as in the case of Probation, or channelled on to others in the department, as in the case of senior staff.

If the ex-Probation staff were least likely to experience stress resulting from the pressures and nature of the demands made on them by the departments, as a group, they were also less likely to see themselves as having developed in a professional sense as a result of the eighteen months which they had spent in the service of the new Social Work Department. Indeed, these ex-Probation Officers were generally more resentful than the other specialist workers, with respect to the sense of loss of identity which they had experienced as a result of the changeover, and the loss of service to the client and community which the changeover had entailed in their own specialist field. The fact that these officers virtually operated as Probation staff offered no consolation, since few believed that they were as effective in the new situation as they had been in the past. Large

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Scott in A.Etzioni 'The Semi-Professions'
Wolfe and Snoeck. op.cit. p.114
Shaw. op.cit.

caseloads and the intrusions of other type cases and problems interfered with their ability to operate as they would have wished. Also, the fact that they were now officially all Social Workers, and no longer Probation staff, meant that they could not easily hold on to their old specialist image and title in thenew Department, since to do so was regarded by other social workers as evidence of rigidity and resistance to change on the part of the individual officer. However, Probation staff were not alone in the belief that they had experienced no professional development as a result of their move into the new set-up, as OVER HALF of the entire staff of Department A held the samenegative opinion of the change. In a number of instances, the reverse situation had occurred and professional standards had, in fact, deteriorated. Taken as a body, social workers were not opposed to the idea of a unified social work department which would incorporate all the previous existing specialist workers, but rather to the idea that these ex-especialist officers should be asked to incorporate within themselves all these different specialist skills and knowledge. As one officer put it:

> "You can't concentrate on any one thing. You sort of dabble in everything and become a semi-proficient in everything, rather than proficient in one thing, and this is what the job demands."

Only 27% of the social work staff believed in the practicality of the Multi-purpose social work role. 59.5% were decidedly against the idea and 13.5% had strong reservations about the

desirability of the generic social worker being actively involved in all the different specialist areas of the work. Those officers who were more opposed to the idea of the generic social worker were fairly evenly drawn from ALL the various specialist groups within the department, with the ex-Probation group being slightly more critical of the practical benefits of the move. Table 1 below illustrates how general the views of these officers were towards the multi-purpose idea and practice:

TABLE 1

	Opposed to Multi-purpose Social Work Principle.
Probation	66.6%
Child Care	55.5%
Welfare	50.0%
Mental Health	50.0%

One ex-Welfare Officer described the official move towards the establishment of the multi-purpose social work role as the 'theft' of their role identity and the absence of 'role definition' on the part of the employing body of the social work staff. The experience of loss of identity was particularly acute for the ex-Probation group, who were most likely to make nostalgic references to the past:

> "Having been in Probation for 14 years, I found I was in the position where I was <u>just</u> becoming a general welfare person. I resented those politicians and the Act (1968 Scotland) which could direct one further away from this narrower field. I'm not saying that I'm not interested in general social work, but people have choices, and at the end of the day

it's what you want to work at which is important."

"As a Probation Officer you were identified as 'Something' by the public. A social worker isn't identifiable in this way. When I do an S.E.R., I don't say 'I'm a social worker'; but, 'I'm a Probation Officer'".

"Maybe I'll go to England to Probation. I feel I'd like to be able to concentrate more on the penal side. I don't think I could be a jack-of-all-trades. Casework is the same, but it's the area of work I miss."

"I'm having to reconcile myself to the fact that I was a Probation Officer and I was happy with it. No vision of becoming a Child Care Officer, and I'm not happy with the set-up because of that. Child Care Officers aren't interested in the Courts or in old people. I'm still a specialist at heart."

"If I could, I'd go back to Probation; but there isn't any in Scotland."

CONCLUSION:

The changeover to the new Social Work Department structure involved quite dramatic changes in both the sets of Contributions demanded of the worker by the department and in terms of the Inducements which were suggested would be made available to them as a result of their participation in the

change. They had been called upon to throw aside a specialist-type concept of themselves and commitment to their work, and take up a generictype role in its place.[6] The desirability of the change residing in the organisational and economic benefits which would result from such a move. There would be one Social Work Department containing all of the local authority's social work staff. This would not only simplify administration of the service, but a generic-type social work role would allow for a wider use of scaree resources, i.e. social workers in the department. Other hypothesised benefits would be the avoidance of duplication of work by other specialist social workers and the simplification of the service for the client. The Inducements which social workers were encouraged to antitipate in thenew situation were the development of new skills, the provision of a better service to the client, in the sense that it would be more complete, and the opening up of a broader career structure for social workers in the local authority setting. The new situation, therefore, was very much an exchange situation, one in which the social worker was encouraged to move from one position to another motivated by the prospect of both professional and economic/occupational advancement. However, it was the actual working out of the situation at the local level which was to decide the extent to which these broad objectives of the legislation had been met, and whether the social workers themselves were satisfied with the exchange actually received.

Considering first their professional development; re-

latively few social workers in Department A operated with a broad generic-based caseload eighteen months after the change had been effected. Most of the staff operated essentially in their specialist capacity - either in terms of the weighting attached to their respective caseloads or to their personal preferences for particular categories of clients or work. More than half of the entire staff believed that they had failed to develop professionally during the period of the new set-up and, indeed, a number complained of the deterioration in their professional standards as a result of the change.

The concept and practice of the multi-purpose social workers were strongly opposed by two-thirds of the group from all the specialisms, and a further 13.5% had strong reservations about its benefits to either the worker or the client. Moreover, the large caseloads undertaken by staff, which would have placed strains on purely specialist staff, appeared to be even more stressful for social workers with a wider casework responsibility. In terms of the overall assessment which social workers attached to the exchange between themselves and their department, only 32.4% saw the exchange in a favourable light. For the majority (67.5%) the exchange was one in which the social worker was most dissatisfied with the outcome in relation to his or her own position and role. The dissatisfaction of social workers with their lot was located in two major areas. The first source of dissatisfaction arose from the reduction of intrinsic satisfactions which these workers had formerly experienced in their work (45.9%). The second source of discontent centred around the absence of

career opportunities in the department (21.6%).

For social workers who sought intrinsic satisfactions in the job, the new Social Work Department operated in such a way as to interfere with the workers' ability to validate certain notions which they held of their position in the field; namely, as a 'helper' and as professional persons.

> "I don't think I'm getting so much. They're not paying me for my frustration, lowering of professional standards. If I don't get out, I feel I'm going to be too ashamed to call myself a Social Worker."
>
> "Materially, the salary has gone up, but inner satisfaction won't come with that; but from helping people, and we are not in a position to do that."
>
> "Reasonably paid, but we have to work damned hard for the money we get. The Department gets a lot more from the social worker than they pay for. You can't measure it up in pay. It's the strain on you emotionally that the department can't see. Only people who are with you all the time - your family, friends - know what the job is costing you. Unless you are prepared to think reasonably deeply about the client and his problem, then you might just as well pack up and go home." You need a certain amount of caring, to be involved."

"If I looked at it in terms of hours and effort, I think I've earned it. But if I thought of it in terms of professional standards, I don't think I've earned it. BUT; it wasn't my fault they didn't get this (standards). You can't work with 120 cases."

"Here I feel I certainly earn my keep at the end of the week. The balance is with them (department) rather than with us, and I'm trying to be fair to them. Money isn't everything. It's important, but I like to think when I get home that I could relax. But your work is with you all the time. You can never really cope with it. That's the thing about social work; it's a contract you have with your client as much as with the department. It's trying not to let the client down in a way which keeps you going at it, even when you know that as far as what you are getting from the department is concerned, it's not enough. I suppose it's how you see yourself and your need to control the situation as far as you can, and when you can't you feel bad."

For a large number of social workers, the main attraction of the work rested in their ability to help others in need, and this was largely a result of a carry-over from their concern with a specialist group of clients. This general concern for, and desire to help, the client, however, was impaired by the

department's inability to attract more staff and thereby keep caseloads down to manageable levels. The executive of the Department A also appeared to be more administratively oriented and concerned with almost exclusively the needs of the department, rather than with the client, and had failed to fuse the requirements of both the client and the department in the minds of the staff. The staff and the executive, therefore, appeared to operate with competing ideologies about the nature of the work and the social worker's role in the situation and, as such, could be expected togive rise to conflict. (Druckman). The social workers, for their part, struggled to retain their professional concept of their role as 'helper', rather than 'administrator', since it was only through their attempts to maintain relationships with their clients that they could see themselves as being what they had joined the service to become; namely, social workers, and, for some, specialist workers in the field. For this group particularly, the attempt to maintain this professional view of themselves had necessitated even greater physical involvement in their work in terms of overtime, etc. The pressures, however, were of a nature as to defeat the social worker's personal attempt to overcome the constraints in the situation and the worker's sense of frustration and grievance becameheightened towards the executive in the department and made the workers more critically aware of the limited sets of Inducements which the department was prepared to offer its staff. The main Inducement was money, but, here again, it was no greater than that which was offered by other departments in the country for social work staff.

D.Druckman & K.Zechmeister 'Conflict of Interests and Value Dissensus', pp.431-8, 1970

least three-quarters of the Social Work Department staff up to middle-management level. So prevalent was this concern for promoted status within the department that social workers increasingly spoke of the 'rat race' which was currently taking place, both with their own department and in social work field generally.

Social work staff assessed their own chances of promotion by comparing their specialist qualifications with those which were currently in demand. Age and experience were not necessarily an advantage, since few were generically trained in any case, and no one had a history of attachment to the new department which was longer than that of those other members of staff who entered the new service at the point of its origin. Only 27% of staff were relatively unconcerned with their personal status position within the department at the final stage of the study.

If the changeover to the new department structure had been intended to generate a wider commitment on the part of the basic grade social worker towards a more generic stance, the outcome of the change, especially within Department A, had served instead to create a commitment to a set of values which espoused the attractiveness of the career. To some extent promotion on the part of the basic grade staff was desirable, in as much as it presented the social worker with an 'out' in the situation. It was the basic grade worker who was required to adopt the generic role in the fullest sense of the term, whilst senior staff could continue to adopt a largely 'specialist' outlook and function by becoming

a 'resource' person on the team. As such, the role of the senior was much more attractive in that it not only provided status, but also allowed the individual to follow his or her own interests and operate in a more stable context. The situation of basic grade staff had been exacerbated, also, by the fact that promotion, being internal, came from the professionally qualified of the lower ranks. The consequence of this action was that the lower ranks became more depleted of trained staff, and those fewer trained officers were given increasingly more responsibility because they were more trained and longer in the service than the new recruits to the department. The incentives for getting 'out' of the situation, therefore, increased as time and the demands on the social worker also increased.

Given a situation where there was a great deal of personal dissatisfaction among the staff over the loss of intrinsic sources of satisfaction in their work and/or the absence of career opportunities, it was not surprising to discover that a large number of the staff (51.4%) were in the process of considering or actually leaving the department at the first suitable opportunity. Some others would have added themselves to this list, but age, family and commitments in the area prevented them from seriously contemplating the move. Less than 30% of the social work staff in the department could be said in any way - either professionally or in career terms - to be committed to the department, as a department.

As a department, Department A could be said to have

failed to establish the more important objectives which had been set out in the 1968 Act, or satisfy the expectations which prompted the professional support of the legislation. The new department and its executive had been unable to alter the self-image of the worker from a commitment and sense of identity to a specialist service towards a generic view of his or her work. The department had continued to promote an interest in the previous specialist field by heavily weighting the caseload of the worker in a specialist direction. It had failed to provide the social worker with an opportunity to validate a concept of self as other than a largely specialist-type worker, and, even then, the image resulting from the pressure of work imposed was not particularly favourable. The executive had failed to provide its staff with an ideology or policy which would act to redirect the thinking of its social work staff along new lines. Rather, its actions were such as to highlight the administrative, rather than the professional, objectives of the situation and as such an ideological gulf became established between the executive and the staff which time seemed only to reinforce rather than to wash away. Moreover, social workers themselves recognised that specialist work, professionally speaking, no longer existed. This was evident not only from the dismantling of the old specialist service, of which they had been a part, but also from those newly-trained social workers coming into the field, who were imbued with the idea of the multi-purpose social worker. The situation within the department, therefore, was one of stagnation rather than

growth in either a professional or career sense for at least half of the social work staff.

The department had also been unable to provide an effective 'One Door' which was equally open to all its possible users. The elderly and handicapped possibly received less attention after the change than was the case before the move, and this was certainly the situation for the ex-Mental Health patient. The hypothetical problem of overlap and duplication of work by staff had been overcome, but the result was now often one where no one visited the client, rather than the client suffering from an 'overdose' of social work services. Even clients, whose position was safeguarded by certain statutes which continued to operate in their favour, were not necessarily being served to the same degree as was possible prior to the change. These latter failures were not entirely the responsibility of the department's executive, however. The statutes governing certain categories of clientele operated to interfere with the full implementation of the 'One Door' policy and equality of clients based on need. Instead, statutory requirements established priorities when the question of eligibility was raised in a situation where the social worker's use of his or her time was at a premium. Thevolume of work flowing into the department,and the shortage of trained staff to cope with the situation, also contributed to the difficulties. However, the manner in which the executive responded to these problems and, more particularly, the ways in which it presented itself to its staff, were questions of leadership style and, as such, were

the responsibility of the executive. The particular leadership style adopted in the situation appeared to be inappropriate in view of the objectives of the change and the problems besetting the organisation and its staff. What appeared to have occurred was that the Director, far from operating out of malice in the situation, had largely continued to operate in the manner with which he had administered his former small specialist department. In that situation, he had centralised operations and his authority as a specialist had gone unquestioned. Social work in the department, in terms of casework, however, was not greatly developed and administrative and medical criteria were uppermost in determining the nature of the service provided to the client. In the new department, however, the sheer physical size of the department and its scale of operations had increased six-fold, and was composed, moreover, of staff who were largely casework oriented and professionals. The official and ideological remit of the new service was community and preventive service, and the development of the profession as a whole, rather than with the perpetuation of the administrative concerns of the situation. The Director's remoteness, which was perhaps acceptable in the smaller department of largely untrained and inexperienced staff, was less appropriate to the demands of the new situation. Whereas he had previously operated as a professional among and over largely non-professional staff, after the changeover he operated less in terms of his former specialist identity, which was not, by itself, particularly central to the objectives

of the new department, but also among other professional workers - professionals of a different kind, rather than simply a different specialism. He did not appear to speak the same kind of language, nor did their respective professional training generate the same kind of identities for its members. The Director belonged to a professional group which espoused the notion of 'affective neutrality' (Parsons) and objectivity in professional relationships, whilst the social worker sought to become 'affectively involved'. The problem, therefore, was not simply, or solely, one of temperament on either side, but temperament reinforced by different sets of values and images of a professional nature which influenced how each side, the director and his social workers, viewed their joint situation.

DEPARTMENT B

The physical and social structure of Department B had undergone quite important changes during the twelve months preceding the third and final stage of the study. Four area teams had been established, with three of these teams actually located and functioning in their respective regional areas. Each team had its complement of senior staff and most of its basic grade social workers. However, the past year had witnessed a change of Director and leadership style. The concept

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T. Parsons 'The Social Structure', p.435.

of decentralisation of the day-to-day administration of the area team which hadbeen put forward by the former Director had been gradually brought back to centralisation of operations within the department by the new Director. The change in leadership entailed not only differences in style of performance, but also of managerial goals and objectives.

Under the previous Director, the policy of Department B had been officially stated both verbally, by the Director, and written in the 'manuals of procedure' which the Director had provided for staff, and which outlined the duties of the social worker and the standards expected of him by the department. The work contract - which had also been the Director's idea - also contained outlines of the expected obligations of staff in the new Social Work Department. From this contract, and from the quite elaborate role definition of the job which was also provided to staff, social workers were in a position to ascertain not only their obligations to the department, but also to get the feel of how the department viewed its staff and the manner in which they would be utilised. The Director's policy for the staff and the department entailed the 'professionalisation' of the service for the good of the community. This professionalisation of the service had entailed a number of quite fundamental changes in how the social worker had been called upon to view his or her role. It had entailed the implementation of the multi-purpose social work role and the physical accessibility of staff to the client. The latter entailed all social workers being listed in the telephone directory and the setting-up of a

24-hour stand-by service for the community at large, i.e. clients, G.P.'s, police, etc.

The policy of decentralisation had been to enable the officer in charge of each team to become better acquainted with the needs of his or her area, since it was recognised that the different areas could pose different sets of problems, as indeed they did. The long-term policy was for each team leader to be responsible for the financial organisation of area expenditure, but in the interim period the control of finances and the overall policy of the department were located with the Director and his team. The Director's subsequent departure to a more prestigeful post in England had resulted in the Social Work Committee appointing a locally-based Scotsman for the Director's post. Subsequent to the departure of the former Director, his personal team of workers also departed for other posts. These were the people he had brought with him into the department, and who may have felt that his departure had lessened their own chances of personal advancement within the department because of their association and identification with his policy and aims. The departure of these key figures in the executive made the role and behaviour of the new Director even more significant for the field work staff. So dramatic was the change to become that social workers spoke of the 'two' departments which they had known since the changeover had begun eighteen months before.

One important outcome of the change of Director during the year was the fact that the policy of the department was

no longer as clearly defined as was the case in the previous administrative system. 50% of the social workers in the department were of the view that the department had no policy, whilst the remainder believed the policy to be changing. In this respect, Department B had begun to bear some similarity to Department A, since both departments had generally failed to provide a policy or objectives which were clearly recognisable as such by their respective staff. The priorities of Department B had also undergone some important changes in emphasis during the twelve months of the new Director's occupation of the leadership of the department. The new Director's major concern for his staff was that the statutory obligations on the service would be met, or at least this was the opinion of every member of the social work staff in his department. Completely absent was any suggestion by staff that the Director was concerned with establishing as other priorities the maintainance of high professional standards of service, or the professional development of his staff, and in this respect the set-up of Department B resembled the situation which had been prevalent in Department A.

Fortunately, for at least three of the area teams, the new Director's concern for the fulfilment of statutory obligations was not nearly as constraining on the time available to the worker to devote to otherprofessional commitments in the situation, such as ongoing work and preventive work, and in this respect these groups were more fortunate than their colleagues in Department A. The difference, however, lay less in the emphasis of the Directors, which in each

case was focused on statutory work, but rather in the nature of the geographical areas in which the two departments were situated and which produced different kinds of problems and volumes of work for their staff. In Department B, for example, at least three areas had relatively few problems of a Probation type, and this meant that statutory obligations relating to the Courts and Panels were not nearly so pressing for these teams. Added to this factor were the relatively low caseloads held by the social workers which, in those areas mentioned, averaged between 40-50 cases per worker. In this department's (B) fourth area, however, caseload size was between 60 and 70 cases for basic grade staff, but even this situation was some improvement on the staff of Department A, who held caseloads of around 90-100. Those teams with the smaller caseloads were not only in a more favourable position to meet statutory demands coming from the Courts and Panels, but also other statutory requirements as well as ongoing case-work with clients.

The advantage of the smaller caseload lay in that it enabled staff to attempt to meet the demandsimposed on them by their new generic role. Every member of staff, with the exception of the leader of the team, had a generic caseload; that is, work which was fairly evenly distributed from a variety of specialisms other than the worker's own previous field. 50% of social workers in Department B could be said to be completely generic in terms of the composition of their caseload and the manner in which they pursued their work. 44.4% continued to operate as essentially specialists in the

field, and in this respect the bias was towards their former discipline. This was particularly true at that time of the two Mental Health social workers who represented a scarce resource in the areas, but even they had a fairly broad caseload base. In comparison with their colleagues in Department A, these social workers had become much more generic-based during the period following the changeover. (The difference between the two groups in this area being significant ($X^2 = 4.26$; df=1 ; $p<.05$). Moreover, these social workers were much more in favour with the practice as well as the concept of the generic social work role than were their colleagues in Department A. 61.1% of Department B workers were IN FAVOUR of the multi-purpose social work role, whilst 59.5% of social workers in Department A were AGAINST the practice of generic social work. Again, the difference in attitude towards the new social work service of both groups was significant ($X^2=5.65$; df=1; $p<.02$).

Whilst staff in Department B were generally more committed to the practice of the multi-purpose social work role, for one area team of that department the volume of work and the Director's concern for statutory obligation appeared to run counter to the full implementation of the generic principle. This was the fourth area team which operated in the more urban region of the department. Staff in that area had the most pressing caseloads as could be seen not only from the numbers of cases on the social workers' files - between 60 and70 cases - but also in terms of the amount of their work which was concerned essentially with first-

priority statutory duties. The leader of the team had initially attempted to keep the social workers' caseloads down to around 45-50 cases per worker, which he saw as a ceiling beyond which the professional competency of the social worker could no longer be guaranteed or expected. To implement this practice of controlling caseloads, he had had to introduce a list ofpriorities for categories of clients who could, or could not, be taken on as clients by members of his team. Even the establishment of such priorities and his own strategy of holding onto cases himself rather than allocating these to the staff, had failed to prevent caseload size from rising above that which he regarded as professionally desirable. Both he and his staff were also concerned with the welfare of the clients which he and the teams were obliged to turn away in the absence of more staff. The matter of the volume of work coming into his area and the emphasis of the Director on statutory commitments being top priority in the teams were subsequently raised by himself with the Director. After some months, he was informed that all statutory work would be undertaken.The implication of this decision and the worker's own view of the decision are contained in the following statements made by the officer concerned:

> "We were working on priority, but now it's decided for us by statute. We have a full caseload now and statutory cases have passed beyond the point of discretion."

> "You either allocate everything, in which case the social worker has to choose (her priorities), or you hold it (the decision) managerially. As long as it was a middle-management task it was O.K. for me to do this, but when it became policy, it (the decision) was rightly higher up. The Director has hedged this. He has been a Civil Servant too long. 'The Book Says' is his answer."
>
> "Any attempt to apply quality to the service is tied up with the size of the caseloads. I had to resign over this and other issues."

The problem posed by the new Director's decision not to place a ceiling on statutory work and caseload size removed the professional controls which the department could exercise over staff by ensuring staff conditions which social workers themselves could acknowledge as professionally acceptable. Large caseloads, on the other hand, were not professionally acceptable, since they interfered with the social worker's ability to provide an acceptable standard of service to his or her clients which was essential for the worker's maintainance of his or her own professional self-identity in the situation. Large caseloads meant that work would be neglected by the social worker and would be used by the social worker as justification for rejecting the authority of the department. The authority of the executive in

Department B was said by that particular officer to rest on professional or 'expert' authority and 'charisma'. Authority in that particular department was 60% based 'in the man', rather than in his office or position within the department.

The new Director, as far as some members of staff were concerned, operated with a set of values which related more to his previous, essentially administrative position rather than to the professional social work orientation elaborated by the previous Director and generally shared by the social work staff. He appeared to lack the charisma of the former Director and to be less forthcoming and decisive in his approach to, and handling of, problems. The former Director had been highly regarded by his staff for his ability to administer; to be able to establish a working structure for the department, and then to use that structure; and to delegate authority and to abide by the decisions which emerged from that delegation. The new Director, however, was seen as someone who wanted to centralise decision-making, even in those areas which were not regarded by staff as the Director's province:

> "He (new Director) wasn't able to use the structure as it was. Had to have a finger in every pie - regardless!"

The Director's desire to become more fully aware of the workings of the department and his 'interference' in a number of decisions which were formerly taken at other levels possibly arose out of a number of different factors. There was

the possibility that he did not wish simply to fill a 'dead man's shoes', but rather to put his own stamp on the department. There was also the problem created by executive staff in the department leaving for posts elsewhere without immediate replacements, necessitating some involvement in those areas of work by himself. Whatever his motivations in the situation, there was no doubt whatsoever that staff themselves made invidious comparisons between the new Director and his leadership and that of their recently departed 'boss'. Whilst the latter was viewed by staff as ongoing and decisive, the new man was inclined to 'sit on the fence', as one officer put it. Social workers spoke, too, of the 'lull' in the department since the appointment of the new Director as leader. The former Director had been generally regarded by staff as something of a 'Great' man, both administratively and professionally. Not everyone in the department had liked him; as a person he had his critics, but everyone, including those who held some personal grudge, was unanimous in recognising his administrative talents and his ability to engender a sense of 'trust' and a sense of 'mission' to his staff. He was regarded as 'a man who could make decisions' and as someone with a 'strong personality'.

> "X (Director) was a great talker, administrator, great ideas. But I didn't like him."

As a man able to make decisions, some of these had initially been unpopular with social work staff, and on at least two separate occasions had engendered some conflict between himself and the socialworkers. However, his

objectives in making the decisions and his manner of presenting these to the staff had been sufficiently persuasive to retain the decisions made, although staff also won certain concessions for themselves from the confrontation:

> "The Director (old) met them all (social workers) and heard their points of view. He told them why he saw the need for a 24-hour service. He pointed out their professional duty to do so and said that it was in their contract. He said he appreciated our point of view. But, at least, you know why decisions - especially unpopular decisions - were being made."

(The problem of the 24-hour stand-by was that social workers in the department had never previously operated that system and, moreover, they would not be paid by the local authority for the overtime this new measure would entail. Social workers accepted the principle of stand-by, but fought with the local authority over payment. The social workers eventually got time off in lieu).

Whilst the former Director had been seen as in concert with his staff and, on occasions, with them against the Social Work Committee and other local authority departments, the new Director presented a picture of forming an alliance with the Social Work Committee. The significance of the new alliance lay in the emphasis on statutory functions of the department

and essentially administrative claims on staff, rather than with the staff's professional development, or that of the service as a whole. Social workers in the department were also concerned by the apparent influence which was thought to be exerted over their department by other departments within the local authority, particularly that of the Town Clerk's Department. A situation, moreover, which staff felt their former Director would not have tolerated.

> "There is no doubt that for people who come into the department at the beginning, there have been TWO social work departments, X's and the Administrative social work department we have now. And that, even within the present department, there are TWO factions; the social work side and the Clerk and Committee (Social Work) side. The Clerk of Social Work Committee is now asking the Director for short leet staff lists for the top jobs so that HE can vet it. X (former Director), would have chased him."

The social workers in Department B had experienced mixed careers as a result of the change in Directors and the subsequent change in both policy and leadership style pursued by both men. The first Director had attempted to create a department in which it had become possible for the worker to validate professional concepts relating to his or her role and the value of his or her contribution, not only to the community, but also in the department itself. The

philosophy and goals of the department were in keeping with the legislative goals and the objectives of the social work profession and the quality of leadership and supervision at the middle-management and executive levels was generally considered a marked improvement on what had previously existed in their former specialist-based agencies. He had also infected his staff with his own sense of enthusiasm and commitment to the Act. Social workers had been called upon to relinquish known areas of work and established identities associated with their respective specialist roles, but the Director had been largely responsible for providing staff with another set of professional values and commitments which were seen as equally attractive, if not more beneficial for both the social worker and the service as a whole.

The new Director, on the other hand, by his failure to stress an ideological commitment to the professional development of the service and its staff, aroused in the staff feelings of suspicion and frustration. Since the change, they had been encouraged to view themselves and the service as moving in a particular direction, and now were placed in a situation where both the rate of progress and the direction to be taken were uncertain. At least on two occasions the actions of the new Director caused a degree of consternation among staff and direct confrontation between themselves and the Director. These issues arose over situations which social workers regarded as violations of the professional status of social workers and the service of the department,

and out of the Director's willingness to tolerate, and even appear to encourage, the violation. In both these instances the pressures being exerted were traced by the social workers to either the Social Work Committee or to the Town Clerk's Department - both groups with interests which were not in alignment with the interests of the social workers on the issues in question at the time. The absence of leadership concerned with the maintainance of professional standards from the new Director had the effect of drawing the leadership styles in Department A and Department B to a point of similarity.

Whilst there had been this dramatic change in the leadership style, the existing structure of the department - a legacy from the former Director - served to provide some sense of continuity for the basic grade staff. Area team leaders who still continued to have a degree of independence from the Director in the situation continued to promote the professional values which were so much in evidence in the former set-up. Moreover, there was the pay-off from the former Director's decision not to take on untrained staff in any numbers, but rather to leave the places open for trained social workers. This decision, whilst it initially put burdens on the existing staff, was seen to pay dividends later as trained staff became available. It had the effect of reinforcing the professional concept of the work among the different workers. Moreover, the former Director had accepted only those people who shared the notion of the

'generic' social worker, so that, here again, there was a reinforcement of a particular social work image generated within the teams.

Support for the change in role had been given by both senior and field staff, but in Department B they were much more likely than their colleagues in Department A to attribute more support to the senior colleagues during the eighteen month period covering the change. Although, in both departments, it was the colleague group who typically provided the social worker with much of his knowledge on procedures The seniors were more responsible for the maintainance and development of professional standards within the team and, indeed, were seen by staff to work to this effect.

Finally, the relatively small caseloads held by the staff, in comparison with that held by their Department A colleagues, were such as to allow the workers to keep their records largely up to date and to supervise types of cases and categories of clientele which Department A social workers had allowed to go by the board. Cases not seen for a period of three months were automatically ceased by the senior so that pressure was on staff to keep their visits to clients and their records up to date. Quarterly reviews of the social workers' entire caseloads had also been established:

> "C.B.O. are not secondary here, because we are still shaping lives. We do more than statutory visits. We try to do 'child care'

> and provide a full casework service to anyone we accept."

Even previously non-Child Care workers regularly made their C.B.O. visits. The teams also had a system for reminding staff of the dates on which outstanding visits were required. A red asterisk mark was attached to the file of the client and the names of clients to be seen on allotted dates were circulated at the team meetings, together with the name of the social worker responsible for the case in question. The outcome of this administrative device of bringing the worker's attention to clients due for visits from the worker or overdue such contact, was such that social workers themselves attempted to correct any laxity on their part in visits made to their clients. One officer remarked:

> "It's amazing how the most out-of-step social worker can be brought back into line in this way."

The group could exert this normative control over their colleagues not only because there was a definite social work commitment by staff to the service, but also by virtue of the smaller, more manageable caseloads held by the individual social worker. With the exception of the fourth, and most pressurised area of the department, there had been no necessity for staff to turn away requests for help or to ask seniors for a reduction in the work demanded of them.

The smaller caseloads, however, did not prevent

social work staff from establishing sets of personal priorities in their work. Every member of staff had his or her own set of priorities, over and above those statutory requirements demanded by the department. In this respect the staff of both Department A and Department B were similar to one another; they both had to operate within a particular framework where statutory obligations received top priority and where, having satisfied these the social workers established priorities of their own. However, it was in the latter area of personal priorities that the essential difference emerged between the staff of the two departments. Whilst social workers in Department A divided their priorities in terms of crisis situations (56.8%) and the continuation of specialist interests (45.9%), social workers in Department B focused on crisis work (61.2%) and preventive work with their clients (44.4%), with the continuation of specialist interests being mentioned by only 22.2%.

The reader will note from Table II below that whilst both groups placed crisis work high on their priority lists, the Department B and Department A social workers differed with respect to the significance each attached to the continuation of a specialist-type interest, and their involvement in preventive-type social work activities:

TABLE II	Dept. A	Dept. B.
Crisis	56.8%	61.2%
Specialist	45.9%	22.2%
Preventive	16.2%	44.4%

The relative difference in the weightings given to specialist type work by the social workers in Department B and their greater concern with preventive aspects, was largely influenced by the size and the composition of the caseloads and the sets of values prevalent within the department which were generally supportive of involvement in other branches of the work. These workers were concerned with providing an acceptable service to all of their clients and were, moreover, generally in a situation where they were able to meet some of their own expectations in their work. Social workers in Department A, on the other hand, were confronted with large caseloads which they considered professionally unrealistic, and with less general commitment to either the value of the generic service ideal or to the department itself. Those members of staff who were in a position to attempt to control some aspect of the work situation appeared to have attempted to salvage part of their former identity or area of work by making that specialism part of their own set of priorities in the work. The position of the social work group in Department B, therefore, was one in which they were generally able to validate their new professional concept of self in a manner which encouraged a further commitment to the new role, whilst the situation in Department A provided a negative set of reinforcements for the social work staff.

The fact that social workers in Department B had operated in a more professionally oriented organisation,

however, did not remove the anxieties which the changeover had incurred during the previous twelve-month period of the change. Staff in both Department A and Department B had felt inadequately prepared for the change in terms of the knowledge which either group had about the new and unfamiliar areas in which they had been expected to operate. The situation in Department B could have been more anxiety-provoking in as much as, whilst the staff generally had smaller caseloads than their colleagues in Department A, in fact these smaller caseloads were much less specialist-based and, therefore, confronted these workers much earlier on in their career with the demands of a generic social work role. Department B social workers also spoke of the emotional stress which they had experienced, examples of which were:

> "It was the frustration, the anger of high caseloads."
>
> "Fingerpricking was my sympton of stress."
>
> "Sleepless nights. I think the wife suffered more than I did."
>
> "I found I was talking about my job a lot outside the office; couldn't stop myself."

These social workers, however, were unlike their colleagues in Department A in that they were less likely to see their emotional difficulties as continuing to exist in the present situation (with the exception of area four), and unlike that group in that they did not attribute such anxiety to other members of staff as a general phenomenon

within their department. The root cause of the problem of stress, as seen by the social workers themselves, lay in the lack of knowledge of procedures, high caseloads and involvement in other specialist areas of work. It was noteworthy that two-thirds of the 'stress' group of workers in Department B came from the most pressurised team; a team, moreover, with a strong generic commitment. If social workers in Department B were confronted by problems in their work which generated emotional stress for the worker, it must be added, however, that the amount of stress admitted by staff was somewhat less than that given by the workers of Department A; the difference in statistical terms, however, was not significant. (X^2 = .65;df=1;p<.50).

TABLE III

	Department A	Department B
STRESS	48.6%	33.6%
	N = (34)	N = (21)=

No difference emerged among the social workers in Department B in terms of age or sex factors being associated with proneness to emotional stress. However, with regard to previous specialisms, the ex-Welfare group appeared least disturbed in the situation. On the other hand, the most likely explanation for their immunity lay less in their prior training and more in their geographical position within the department, with half of the ex-Welfare group being in an area which threw up few pressures of work and which, moreover, allowed these few workers to operate more or less as

they had done in the past.

The changeover, for both the Department A and the Department B groups, therefore, had involved certain stress problems for particular individuals, as well as the more general problems brought about by lack of knowledge and procedures of the new role demands. The new situation had also challenged, quite fundamentally, some of the concepts and self-images which these former specialist workers had established of their role, as well as having given rise to other sets of values and expectations. The expectation of professional development, of benefits to the clients and of career opportunities, had all been generated for these workers prior to the onset of the changeover, and in a bid to commit the social workers from the different specialist groups to the new generic role. In terms of professional development, however, the social workers in Department A were more negative of the benefits of the change than were their colleagues in Department B. This difference in experience and attitude of the two groups was significant ($\chi^2 = 4.53$; $df = 1$; $p < .05$) the actual percentage figures for both groups being contained in Table IV:

TABLE IV:

	Department A	Department B.
Professional Development	45.9%	77.7%
No Professional Development	54.1%	22.3%

The general view among social workers in Department B that some professional development had taken place in themselves as a result of the change also acted to colour their view of the multi-social work role. Unlike their colleagues in Department A, the experience of the situation had made social workers in Department B much more accepting of generic social work practice. The difference between the two department groups was statistically significant. ($X^2 = 5.65$; df=1 ; $p<.02$) No evidence existed among the staff in Department B to indicate that any one specialist group was either more favourable or less favourable to the generic role, or for that matter, more or less likely to see themselves as having developed in a professional way during the period following on from the changeover.

In keeping with the favourable attitudes held by the staff in Department B - of their ability to develop and find satisfactory experiences in operating as generic social workers - it was not surprising that these workers should also look more favourably than their colleagues in Department A on the exchange relationship which had been established between themselves and their respective social work departments. 77.7% of Department B staff, as against 32.4% of the Department A social workers, expressed feelings of satisfaction with the exchange relationship between themselves and the department in terms of the sets of Inducements which were available to staff and the Contributions demanded from them. ($X^2 = 10.63$; df=1; $p<.01$). Invariably, the social

workers' view of the exchange was in terms of the opportunities which their department provided staff to operate in the situation in a manner which allowed the social worker to meet both professional and personal needs. For the majority of social workers, in both departments, the rewards sought by the social worker were essentially intrinsic; for example, the ability of the social worker to 'help people', to be seen as 'caring', to develop and to operate 'professionally'. Material aspects of the work were less central - although there was some indication that these material rewards had become somewhat more significant for the social workers in Department A, which might indicate that these social workers were finding the opportunities to achieve intrinsic rewards more difficult in a situation when high caseload demands and other pressures shaped the workers' perception of their role. The general satisfaction of Department B staff was further highlighted by the fact that, as a group, they were less concerned with leaving the department than were the other group. Here, however, the difference was not significant ($X^2 = 1.07$; df=1 ; $p < .30$). The fact that social workers in Department B were significantly more satisfied with their exchange within their departments, but not nearly as significantly different in their willingness to leave the department, lay essentially in the factors motivating the move. In Department A, only about half of those who desired to leave were concerned with status and promotion as a key factor. The others were more concerned

with the lack of professional development in the situation. In Department B, on the other hand, only one social worker out of the 27% of staff who desired to move, was not prompted by the prospect of a promoted position. The latter group, therefore, contained many more ambitious social workers.

Interesting, too, was the fact that all but one of those desiring promotion worked within the same area team. This team tended to have the most administrative form of management of social work staff; to contain most men; to be most status conscious; to have the more senior members; and to be the least welded together. These individuals also tended to have found their career aspirations within the department blocked; there remained no alternative other than a 'move out' if they wished to 'move up'. No real difference emerged here in terms of specialist work and a desire for promotion; rather the values in operation appeared to result from the SEX of the worker, rather than his previous professional identity.*

There was, in Department B, a growing awareness of career openings available and the notion of the 'career' certainly began to take on greater significance for workers at the different levels, although, again, their basic motivation appeared to be qualitatively different from that

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* 4 See H.Holter 'Sex Roles and Social Structure (1970), pp.16-24; 63, 127, for a discussion on the importance of the sex factor in career aspirations.

of the other group. In both instances, the promotion system which proceeded at quite a pace during the change-over period, was something of a scramble, but for the social workers in Department B, it was largely interpreted as a scramble to 'get on', whilst in Department A one sensed that the motivation was to 'get out', if not away from the department, at least away from the pressures exerted at the lower levels. The 'career', therefore, tended to inject into the new situation a set of values which socialworkers in both departments saw as running potentially counter to the welfare of the professional standards of the service generally. The concern of these workers was that career opportunities being at a premium at that stage of the change, encouraged the view that the social workers had to take their chance now, even if they wereunprepared professionally for the post, otherwise they would miss their chance and the post would be given to someone no more competent than themselves:

> "It's amazing the amount of jockeying that goes on for senior jobs. Frankly, some of the jobs social workers are applying for! They just look at the vacancies and say 'That looks good, I think I'll have a go at that.' Mind you, men are more apt to do this than the women. But when they (women) see some of the men who are applying, they say 'Hell, even I could do better.' So they apply as well."

"I think the social workers have gone slightly mad. Mind you, when you see some of the people who get the jobs, you realise that it's not all phantasy on their part either."

CONCLUSION:

The structural features of the situation in both Department A and Department B gave rise to certain sets of experiences for the various specialist groups involved in the changeover. In the case of Department B, the staff were offered conditions and opportunities which enabled them to make a more successful transition from their specialist role commitment to that of the generic-based social worker and, moreover, to derive a sense of accomplishment from the experience. The volume of work entering that department and the professional concerns and objectives of the original Director of Department B made possible a climate favourable for social workers validating a concept of themselves as social workers, and for making some form of professional progress as a result of their participation in that department.

In Department A, the opposite set of conditions largely prevailed. There was an absence of a shared sense of ideological commitment between the Director and the field staff as to the nature of the services and the priorities which were established within the department. Moreover, the

volume of work coming to that department, together with the departure of staff, increased caseloads for the remaining staff to double that figure which professional bodies considered workable. The work conditions within the department were such as to prompt both management and field staff alike to continue the attachment to the previous specialist roles. The difficulties of that particular response, however, lay in the fact that neither the management nor the field staff themselves officially sanctioned the continuation of these specialist concerns. The result was that the social workers were unable to draw the same sense of gratification from their specialist activities as had been the case prior to the changeover.

For both groups of specialist staff in Department A and Department B, specialist titles had been removed from the nomenclature of social work activities and, as such, these roles no longer existed in an official sense. Social work staff, for their part, were realistic enough to grasp the significance of the irreversibility of the changes which had taken place and most social workers attempted to make the necessary adjustments. However, the leave-taking from these specialist positions had proved something of a sad experience for the more committed social workers. Their ability to make the required adjustment in both their attitudes towards their work and their active engagement in the new tasks was largely influenced by the conditions which prevailed within their respective departments. The department was largely responsible for the creation of a work climate and for the allocation

of work tasks which would enable the specialist social workers to re-define their position in a manner which compared favourably with their previous specialist role, or else the department failed in this respect. To the extent that the department was successful in its attempts, it was able to provide important sets of Inducements for the workers to alter their concept of their specialist work role to something more in keeping with the demands of the new work situation. To the extent that the department failed to provide these Inducements for its staff, specialist commitments and identities with the former agency continued to influence the thinking and actions of the different social workers in the department. Whereas Department B was generally successful in its attempts to redirect the specialist workers commitments towards the acceptance of the generic role, Department A was largely unsuccessful in the same venture. Its failure was largely attributable to the absence of work conditions which would have shaped the workers' perceptions of their tasks and commitments along 'generic' lines. Instead, the department was largely unconcerned with the re-shaping of the attitudes and values of the specialist staff as professional social workers, and appeared to regard them simply as employees; as a resource.

The original sets of hypothesis of the study were that in the work situation which resulted in the disturbance of important sets of Inducements which had previously been available to participants in the organisation would result in efforts by those concerned to bring the situation back into

acceptable balance, or else the dissatisfied members would leave the organisation if such an alternative was, in fact, possible. It was suggested that the nature of the work itself and the meanings which it held for the professional work force was itself an important Inducement which the worker extracted from the work situation, and that proposed changes in the nature or the meanings of the work would provide occasions for the worker to reassess his preparedness to continue to remain with the employing organisation. In the case of these specialist social workers, the meanings were largely generated by the nature of the work and the particular clientele each group served. It was hypothesised that it would be the training and commitment of workers in each specialist group which would influence the workers' perception and interpretation of the changes taking place in their work roles, and that theywould develop strategies to protect those interests which were of most concern to themselves. Generally speaking, this interest would be the work itself in terms of its clients and other important relationships. However, whilst it has been demonstrated that at least three groups could be seen as having strong specialist work commitments at the outset of the study, more important than these original commitments was the manner in which the changes were presented tothe specialist staff in each of the two new Social Work Departments, and the conditions which prevailed in each of the two new work situations.

In Department B, the Director had himself taken much of the responsibility for creating the conditions that allowed the

staff to validate concepts of themselves as professional social workers and to experience the move away from their previous specialist role as a continuation of their professional growth and an enlargement of their contribution to the community. As such, that department had been able to provide the necessary substitute Inducements to enable social workers to make the required changes in their work role. These Inducements were the provision of a professional climate for the maintainance of a generic role and the protection and enhancement of work conditions which allowed the staff to find intrinsic satisfactions in the work. These favourable conditions appearedto be effective for all four specialist groups in the department, since no single group of officers was resistant to the changes which had taken place by the end of the study period. Nor was there any difference inthe response made to the situation by either trained or untrained social workers in terms of their own acceptance of the principle and practice of the generic or multi-purpose social work role.

In the case of specialist social work staff in Department A, a general absence of these conditions meant that the situation was not nearly so conducive to the creation of the multi-purpose social work, nor did the situation allow the social workers to experience intrinsic sources of satisfaction in their work either as specialists or as general social workers. The new department was compared unfavourably with their previous specialist agency and the lack of any real sense of professional development or benefits arising from

the changeover had hindered the staff's willingness to accept the concept of the multi-purpose social worker as a practical proposition for themselves. The absence of satisfactory Inducements in the situation would partially explain the relatively high turnover of staff in that department during the time of the study, and also the desire of many of those who remained in the department to leave that department in favour of work where these intrinsic rewards might be met at a more satisfactory level. The structure of each department, therefore, would appear to have been the more critical factor in influencing the individual's ability to make the move from specialist to generic social worker and it was largely when the structure of the department itself failed to provide the conditions which would create an acceptance for the generic role, that the specialist commitments of the staff had a strong influence on how they directed their activities and the kinds of experiences and gratifications which they sought to retain for themselves in the new service.

CONCLUSION

Weber suggests that ideas - new ways of conceiving the meanings of life or aspects of living - are really only important when these ideas can be seen as relating to men's interests, and that in the absence of this relationship between ideas and interests, it is unlikely that the ideas will be taken up or hold sway over the thinking and actions of the group.[1] The ideas in question are those which affect the lives and interests, not simply of the individual, but also of his social group. For ideas to influence social change, they have to be communicated and shared. The communication of ideas is important in that the relationship between ideas and interests of men are not always immediately apparent to every concerned. It is sometimes the task and responsibility of particular individuals or groups to articulate the significance of particular ideas for their fellows. The extent to which these others take up and share the new ideas will depend - in the absence of coercion - on the extent to which the group is in favour of the new ideas, or can be persuaded to accept these new ideas and proposals. (Lewin. Daniel. Coch & French).

The Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968, represented an important change in the concept of the work of Local Authority Social Workers employed in the fields of Probation, Mental Health, Welfare and Child Care. At that time, the changeover

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1 R.Bendix - Max Weber - An Intellectual Portrait - pp.88-9
K. Lewin. op cit.
W.W.Daniel. op cit. pp.45-64.
Coch & French. op cit.

proposals involved the specialist social workers in adopting a generic, or multi-purpose-type, role, in that they were required under the change to take on tasks which up until that time had been generally regarded as the functions of other specialist work groups. The changeover had been accompanied by attempts from interested professional and political bodies to spell out the significance of the change in the service for the social workers in the field. The various sets of appeals of those who favoured the changeover legislation were typically couched in terms which accentuated the rewards - largely professional - which would accrue to the field staff and the profession as a whole and to the client. These appeals focused on the common elements possessed by the different specialist groups involved in the new service - namely, their possession of similar basic skills; the general concern for the welfare of the client and predominantly on their role and identity as social workers. By concentrating on these aspects which were shared by the specialist social workers, it was perhaps hoped to play down or to soften the dissimilarities among the different groups and thereby gain their acceptance of the changes which were scheduled to take place.

Even before the Act had been brought into effect, however, professional social workers from different specialisms were not entirely convinced of the wisdom of the move.(Lapping). The doubt held at that time reflected the concern that the

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Lapping op cit. pp.16-17.

changeover was not necessarily in the interests of either the social workers involved in the change or even in the interests of the clients. (Jarvis). Complete acceptance of the new legislation by social workers in the various specialist fields, therefore, was something which could not be regarded as a 'given' in the situation.

It was the general hypothesis of this study that the critical factor which would influence the social workers' acceptance of the new Social Work proposals, was the degree of commitment which they attached to their then existing specialist activity. Each specialist group - by its selection and training, by the nature of its work and clientele, by its particular ideology, or, indeed, bythe combination of each of these factors - had established sets of meanings and personal identifications for the worker with his or her own specialist role. It was hypothesised that these particular sets of identifications with the specialist service and clientele were important sets of Inducements which had attracted people into a particular branch of social work, or which had prompted them to remain with a particular service agency. (Orzack). Furthermore, these identifications would act to inhibit the specialist officers from adopting the generic or multi-purpose concept of role, at least in the short term of the changeover. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that the move into the new service would disturb, if not remove completely, a number

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Jarvis. op cit. pp.137-142.
L.H.Orzack 'Work as a Central Life Interest of Professionals' Social Problems, 7,pp.125-32 (1959).

of important intrinsic satisfactions which social workers had each experienced in their previous specialist roles, and which had been important Inducements for their remaining with their former specialist agency.

In the case of the specialist groups in this study, there did, in fact, exist a degree of identification with different aspects of their specialist roles. For both Child Care and Probation Officers, the central interest lay with the specialist clientele which each group served, whilst for the Mental Health Officer it was typically their professional development, brought about through their association with the hospital-based psychiatric staff, which was of major importance. In the case of the Welfare group, the central interest lay less in the clientele and more with the fact that the work was of a general social work nature. These different sets of identifications and commitments were anticipated to provide certain obstacles to the specialist's ability to make a successful transition into the generic role which was to be required of them in the new Social Work Departments.

Comparatively few social workers from any specialist discipline involved in this study actually welcomed the move towards the generic social work role. The majory of the officers opposed the idea of the multi-purpose, or generic, social worker during the initial stages of the changeover. The general response among social workers at the time to the changeover was the universal recognition by staff that the

changeover was an irreversible process, although the majority hoped for the opportunity to continue their specialist roles after the change. The officers in the study were initially concerned with awaiting the developments of the change and maintaining some sense of stability among their non-work role commitments to their family, friends and their attachment to the region in which they lived.

The effect of the changeover after November, 1969, continued to be influenced by a combination of both the ideas - which were generated about the change - and, most importantly, by the social structure of the department in which the different specialist groups were to operate. Prior to the change, much of the discussion concerning the ideas and objectives behind the move took place at the level of the professional association, either in debates or through its official journals. However, since the majority of the field staff were neither politically active in their associations nor avid readers of their professional journals, the main thrust by which their attitudes were to be influenced was to take place at the local departmental level. Most important in this regard was the manner in which the changeover was interpreted and effected by those who were responsible both for the implementation and management - the Directors. Discussion and airing of the situation by those responsible for its management would have been important in any event, since the local situation could be expected to vary from one

authority to another and, indeed, the Act itself recognised that probability. (Social Work in Scotland).

Olesen and Whittaker have suggested that the attitudes and the ideas held by professional individuals concerning their role maybe less central to their ability to operate as professional people than the structural components of the work situation. Certainly Strauss, Fox and Goffman and Argyris have each stressed the importance of the structural conditions in a situation in either facilitating or inhibiting the individual's ability to establish or to maintain a certain image of himself as a particular kind of person. Similarly, in the changeover situation outlined in this study, the individual social worker's specialist and professional concept of self was largely influenced by the structural conditions which were prevalent in the two Social Work Departments in which the officers operated. The more important structural features of each department which affected the workers' self-concept in this way were the organisational climate - i.e. the extent to which the organisation shared and espoused professional values and ideals about its task and clientele; the nature of the work and the workloads which each department allocated its respective

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Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968. Section 12. Social Work in Scotland: Dept. Social Administration, Univ.of Edinburgh, 1969. p.4, pp.11-15.
Olesen and Whittaker . in J.Johnson. Professions and Power.
Strauss et al. op cit. pp.144-9
E.Fox op cit. p.17
E.Goffman 'Asylums', p.138
O.Argyris 'Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness', pp.252-3.

staff; the professional standing and expertise of the staff within each department, and the amount of support and preparation given to the worker by the departments concerned. All of these foregoing features of the situation were strongly influenced in this situation by the ability of the Director and his own personal philosophy and orientation to the work.

In Department B, the former Director of the new Social Work Department had made a point of articulating the necessity for the change to his specialist staff, and with pointing out the benefits, both personal and professional, which the social workers could expect to experience as the result of the changeover. He had continually stressed the professional component of the task and reinforced in the social workers the notion of themselves as Social Workers, first and foremost, and only incidentally as specialists. Officers in Department B had been encouraged to air their ideas and problems and generally some acceptable accommodation had taken place. Limits had also been placed on the size of caseloads which were recognised by field staff as being professionally unacceptable, and only in the instance of one sub-area of that department had caseloads risen above that level. Untrained staff in Department B had been kept to a minimum and new entrants into the department were not only professional qualified, but were required to share an acceptance of the generic concept of the work role. The structural features of the situation in Department B, there-

fore, were such as to favour the establishment and maintainence of a professional image of the work. Moreover, the limited size of caseloads allowed specialist social workers to take on other specialist-type tasks without feeling nearly so much under pressure and as uncertain of their positions as was typically the case in the other, more hard-pressed, sub-area of that department. Even in that area, however, the general commitment was towards involvement in the broader aspects of the work rather than the continuation of specialist interests and activities. For social workers in Department B the new work situation had been one in which the sense of professional development had increased as a result of the change. The workers' satisfaction with the job was related to their ability to realise some of the more important intrinsic interests associated with the job, namely engagement in professionally meaningful social work activities and with forming helpful relationships with their clients.

The situation in Department A presented an opposite set of conditions for its staff. A sense of involvement by the Director in the creation of a new generic social work identity for the staff, or for the maintainence of a professional climate in which the staff might operate, was absent. A large proportion of the new entrants to the department were untrained, often inexperienced, and this also acted to impair a sense of professionalism in the department as a whole. Caseloads were also double that number which was generally regarded as acceptable for undertaking professional

social work with clients. The management of the new department also presented an image of itself to the social workers in the field as remote, not only from the staff, but also from the professional concerns in the situation. The position of social work staff in Department A, therefore, was one in which the majority of the social workers failed to experience a sense of professional development in their work and where acceptance of the multi-purpose, or generic, social work role was far less than that which had been established for and by their social work counterparts in Department B. Moreover, the workers' sense of satisfaction with the Inducements which had been provided for them by Department A were not regarded as sufficient, and many more staff from Department A had either already left the employ of that department or were in the process of leaving the organisation at the time the study was completed.

The structural features of each department were important in as much as they provided the context in which the different specialist groups validated images of themselves as particular kinds of social workers. In Department B the specialist concept of self was an unacceptable image for the individual officer to seek to retain in the face of mounting pressure from both the department and his colleagues to take advantage of the change and to develop as a professional social worker. Typically, this development was seen as moving towards a generic role. This was not to say that former specialist staff completely relinquished any concern

for their previous specialism, but rather that their sense of identification with that area was later balanced with a concern for the other aspects of the generic work role. Moreover, after eighteen months in the new service the demands of these other sectors of the work failed to raise any great feelings of anxiety among staff in Department B, again indicating something of the workers' acceptance of their new generic position. In Department B, at the conclusion of the study, two-thirds of the officers were in favour of the concept and practice of the multi-purpose social work role, and these officers were evenly distributed among each of the previous specialist groups in the department.

In Department A, the structural conditions of the situation - large caseloads and pressure of work, lack of in-service training and expertise - had, together, acted to retain a central concern with the previous specialist activity for the majority of the social work staff. The pressure of work came from two main areas - Probation and Child Care - and because of staffing shortages and the time limits which were often attached to certain aspects of the work, such referrals went predominantly to the existing specialists in these fields. What had possibly begun as a pragmatic and essentially short-term measure had continued to be the practice some eighteen months after the changeover had come into effect and the study was completed. Not only were staff in Department A largely specialist in terms of

their caseload weightings, but also in terms of the priorities which they established for themselves in their work. Typically, their work priorities continued to reflect their earlier specialist interests in spite of the general official policy of the department to have its staff 'go generic'. The situation, however, was unsatisfactory from the viewpoint of the specialist social workers who felt themselves inadequately prepared to handle both the volume and the variety of work which had been allocated to them. They felt the lack of support from the management with their problems and were aware that their continued covert attempts to anchor their activities in the realm of their previous specialism were contrary both to the policy of the department and, just as important, to the social work profession's expectations of the new service. As a group, these officers were the most highly critical of the multi-purpose generic social work role and of the fact that specialist social workers, such as themselves, were obliged to undertake that responsibility. Moreover, more than half of these officers believed that they had failed to develop professionally since the move to the new service structure, and of those who saw some development, this typically meant a greater familiarity with different types of cases rather than a more expanded knowledge base on which to work. This situation, however, was also true of the staff in Department B. Neither group possessed any real amount of information or training in the different specialist areas. Nonetheless,

the conditions prevailing in Department B had permitted staff to experiment in the situation and social workers had received supervision from senior staff, which had allowed them to interpret the situation as more satisfactory.

The structure of each department, therefore, could be seen as largely influential in shaping the specialist social workers' acceptance of the changeover and their movement or inability to move towards a generic social work role and to find the experience satisfying. The creation of these working environments was strongly influenced by the Director of each department and by the conditions prevalent in the wider community in which each organisation was located. However, whilst these external factors obviously placed some limitations on what the Director could attempt to do in the situation, they did not determine what he would do, or how he would set about handling these difficulties. How the department responded in the situation was largely a matter of the Director's own personality, ability and orientation to the work.

In Department B, the Director had managed to secure a number of Inducements which social workers from the different specialisms regarded as of importance, and although the situation under the second Director was to undergo some changes, the original commitment by staff had been made. In Department A, on the other hand, there was both an absence of desirable Inducements to staff which would have acted as incentives for them to make the move over

to the generic role and also an absence of structural conditions which would have allowed them to openly validate their concept of self as specialist workers and still gain social approval from their colleagues by retaining that identity.

One important outcome of the change in the structure of the work situation was the growing concern which staff attached to promotion in both departments. The motivation, however, appeared to be directed by different sets of considerations. In Department B, promotion and the career were seen as further opportunities arising out of the changeover. In Department A, promotion was regarded as more of an escape* from an unsatisfactory position in which the workers' concept of self, either as specialist or as social worker, had become impaired. The most significant structural change was the political and professional change which had effectively removed specialisation from the field of local authority services in Scotland. For the staff of Department A and, more particularly, for the ex-Probation group, the lack of any conscious attempt by management to alter the meanings which specialist officers had attached to their work, had left a residual desire to recreate both the specialism which they had left and the departments in which they had previously operated. Time, however, in terms of changes which had taken place in local authority social work services in Scotland, and made such a prospect

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* Argyris also regards this escape motivation as common in stress situations at work.
C.Argyris 'Personal vs. Organizational Goals', p.88, in R.Dubin (Ed.) Human Relations in Administration, 3rd Edition.

impossible, and the majority of officers in the field were realistic enough to recognise that the changes which had taken place were irreversible.

Such was the situation in two different Social Work Departments in Scotland in late 1971. The situation, however, is not static. Information suggests that some recognition has more recently been given to the acceptance of specialisation within the departments and the particular interests of irdividuals is now more likely to be considered. The ability of every organisation to do this would appear to be constrained by the volume of specialist work coming into the departments and the availability of staff to cope with a department's work load. Another important trend is that of the influx of generic trained social workers into the Scottish social scene. The significance of this work force is thatthey do not have - at least at the outset of their career - any specific preference for a particular type of work and are, therefore, more amenable to the discretionary use of their resources by the department. Moreover, to the extent that these generic social workers become the dominant force in the departments, the specialist social workers' ability to withstand the informal pressures of the professional group would also appear to diminish through time.

Time, therefore, should contribute to the long-term resolution of the potential problem of specialist commitment. However, it would appear that the former specialists

are now possibly in danger of being beset by a further enlargement of their role and again an enlargement for which they are neither generally prepared nor perhaps particularly welcome, and this is their role as catalysts in the community. (Morrish, Jones, Younghusband, Vickery). Whether or not these specialist social workers will be able to respond to these new demands would appear - as in the case of their earlier experiences, already outlined - to be strongly influenced by the structure of the organisation in which they operate and the degree of preparation offered to the staff to enable them to meet these new requirements in their work role.

The relationship between the Social Work Departments and their respective staff would appear to continue to be beset by at least some sources of tension regarding their respective objectives. An ongoing problem for the department is that the performance and attitudes of its work force are not entirely dictated bythe requirements of the organisation, but, as Karpik suggests, will continue to be strongly influenced by the values of the workers themselves and that of their professional body. Moreover, the requirements and objectives of the professional work force will not necessarily mesh with the interests and the objectives of the department

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J.Morrish (1971) 'The Relevance to Agency-Based Workers of Community Work and Social Action' in Social Work Today,1971, p.22

K.Jones 'Casework and Community Work: Partnership or Takeover?' in Social Work Today, 1971.

E.Younghusband 'The Future of Social Work', p.33

A.Vickery 'Specialist-Generic. What Next?', p.265

Karpik. op cit.

as an enterprise (Shaw: Maier). For their part, the problems of the Local Authority Social Worker will continue to result from the fact that their professional concerns in the work situation are not the only concerns with which the organisation is confronted. The Social Work Department will continue to provide a service for the wider community and will also be subject to the controls and political pressures from that community, which may be of greater significance and influence than that which the workers themselves can bring to bear in the situation. The professional bodies, therefore, would do well to focus more of their attention on the role of the professional social worker as an employee, since the structure of the work situation influences not only his satisfaction with the work, but also the type and quality of work which he or she can undertake.

Shaw op cit. pp.217-9

Maier op cit. pp.23-4

Appendix.

Below are the questions which were contained in the two questionaires and the interview schedule.

The First Questionaire.

Name. Age. Sex.

Q.1. What is your job here.

Q.2. How long have you been here.

Q.3. What brought you into .....

Q.4. Do you think that moving into ..... has been a step up socially. (a five point scale provided)

Q.5. What in your opinion makes a Good .....

Q.6. Do you think you have these qualities yourself . (Yes , No , Don't Know.)

Q.7. Do you hold any professional qualifications. Yes./No.

Q.8. What are your qualifications for your job.

Q.9. How much personal control do you have over the following aspects of your work.
Client supervision.
Correspondence.
Timetable. (a five point scale given)

Q.10. Does your senior give you full responsibility to carry out your job as you see it. (a five point scale provided)

Q.11. Do you feel competent to deal with all the aspects of your job. Yes. No. Don't Know.

Q.12. Would you like More supervision or Less supervision from your seniors in your work. (a five point scale provided)

Q.13. On average how many hours do you work per day.

Q.14. Does your work clash with your private life interests.

Q.15. Are you satisfied with your job here in terms of Responsibility and Salary. (a five point scale given)

Q.16. If you were not satisfied would you leave. Yes.No.Dont Know.

Q.17. What does the ..... Department have to offer you that is better than that offered by other social work agencies.

Q.18. Do you read the professional social work journals. Yes . No . Sometimes.

Q.19. Do you look at the vacancy column. (a five point scale)

Q.20. Have you at any time written away for another job since coming here. (a five point scale given)

Q.21. Was the job - similar to present post,
promotion in same field,
entirely different from present job.

Q.22. Do you have any commitments such as family,house,etc that would tie you to working in or around this region.

Q.23. What do you personally like about the work.

Q.24. What do you dislike about it.

Q.25. Can you depend on the co-operation of your colleagues. (a five point scale given)

Q.26. Can you depend on the co-operation of the courts. (a five point scale given)

Q.27. Can you depend on the co-operation of your clients. (a five point scale given)

Q.28. Does the lack of co-operation from these people worry you. (a five point scale provided for each category)

Q.29. Do you think that a social worker should Always work within the framework of his agency . (Yes. No. Don't Know)

Q.30. Do you accept without question the authority of any senior who is placed over you. (Yes . No . Don't Know.)

Q.31. Did you chose your particular job or was it delegated to you by the department. Chose job / job delegated .

Q.32. Has the nature of your job changed in any way since you joined ..... department. (In what ways.)

Q.33. Have you had any say in the type of work which you have been asked to do for the department. (a five point scale provided)

Q34 . Would you now expect to have a say in any change in your job. (a five point scale provided)

Why -

Q.35. Do you think that the work you do is Important. (Yes. No. Don't Know.)

Why -

Q.36. Are there any set procedures you Must follow in carrying out your work. (Yes . No .)

If Yes,please state:

Q.37. What do you Like Most about your work.

Q.38. What do you Dislike Most about your work.

Q.39. If you had any problem in your work who would you consult First.(a six point scale provided.)

Q.40. Who do you usually discuss your work problems with. (the same six point scale provided)

Q.41. What sort of problem would you take to your senior.

Q.42. Is your senior approachable. (Yes. No.Don't Know.)

Q.43. Must all work problems be brought to the senior for attention. (Yes. No. Don't Know.)

Q.44. Do you have any control over your work load. (Yes. No. Don't Know.)

Q.45. How good are communications in the department. (a five point scale give.)

Q.46. What do you feel you know about the coming changeover. (a five point scale provided.)

Q.47. Have you chosen to remain in this region or go elsewhere.

Why.

Q.48. Do you feel at all threatened by the coming changeover. (Yes. No.)

Why.

Q.49. Do you think that the position of the ..... officer will improve or suffer as a result of the changeover. (a five point scale given)

Q.50. Do you think that ..... officers here are generally prepared to enter the new department with an open mind. (Yes. No. Don't Know.)

Q.51. Are you in favour of the new department. (Yes. No. Don't know.)

Q.52. If you did not like the new set up what could you do about it.

Q.53. From what you know of the other agencies involved in the changeover,how prepared would you say they are to enter the new department. (a five point scale given)

Q.54. Would you be prepared to work in small units of mixed social workers. (Yes. No. Don't Know.)

Do you welcome the idea. (Yes. No. Don't know.)

Q.55. What do you personally feel about the idea of a multi-purpose social worker.

Q.56. How much preparation have you had for the changeover by way of Meetings, Discussions with the senior staff and Lectures.
(a five point scale provided for each category)

Q.57. How do you think the changeover will affect your own personal status.

Status will probably go up
Status will stay the same
Status will come down

Q.58. Which of the present social work agencies do you see as forming the backbone of the new department.

Probation
Child Care
Mental Health
Welfare
Don't know.

Second Questionaire.

For the purpose of comparability the majority of questions contained in the first questionaire were repeated to ascertain something of the impact which the changeover had had on the work status and on the job relationships of the workers. I intend, therefore, simply to include only those questions which were new and which focused directly on the new work context.

Q.1. What brought you into the new Social Work Department.

Q.3. Do you think you have the necessary qualities for a multi-purpose social worker.
(Yes. No. Don't know.)

Q.4. Do you think you have the necessary training for a multi-purpose social work role.
(Yes. No. Don't know.)

Q.7. Do you feel competent to deal with all the aspects of your job. (Yes. No. Don't know.)

Q.8. Would you like More or Less supervision from your seniors in your work.
(a five point scale given)

Q.17. What does the New Department have to offer you that is any better than that offered by other new departments in Scotland.

Q.18. What do you personally Like about your work in the New Department.

Q.19. What do you Dislike about it.

Q.21. Would you say that apart from your title, that your has changed since you joined the new department. Yes/No. If Yes, in what ways has it changed.

Q.28. How many Other type cases have you yourself taken on since you joined the new department.
Own specialism prior to changeover.
Probation
Child Care
Mental Health
Welfare
Other.
Cases in another specialism.
Probation
Child Care
Mental Health
Welfare
Other.

Q.29. Do you think that the work you are doing is important. (Yes, No, Don't know.)

Q.30. How familiar are you with the procedures to be followed in the following areas of your work.
Probation
Child Care
Mental Health
Welfare.
(a five point scale given)

Q.31. Who provides you with your instruction on the new areas of your work.
Principally - the Head of the Department (Director).
- the director's assistants.
- the divisional head.
- the Area Officer.
- the Area Senior.
- a colleague in that specialism.

Q.36. Which areas of your work would you like to be able to control <u>most</u>. <u>Tick two</u>.
Size of caseload .
Involvement in other specialisms.
Administrative work.
Demands of senior staff.
Demands of the clients.
Hours worked.

Q.37. What can you do to try and control these two difficult areas of your work.

Q.38. How good are communications within the new department. Vertical/Horizontal (a five point scale given).

Q.39. What do you feel you know about the <u>Policy</u> of the new department. (a five point scale given).

Q.40. Do you feel that the position of your former specialist colleagues has improved or suffered as a result of the changeover. (a five point scale given)

Q.41. Do you feel that any particular group has gained most from the changeover. Yes/No. If Yes, which.
Probation
Child Care
Mental Health
Welfare.

Q.42. Are you in favour of the new department.
In Theory
In Practice. (Yes, No, Don't know.)

Q.43. Do you enjoy working in small units of mixed social workers. (Yes, No, Don't know.)

Q.44. Do you feel more effective working in this setting. (Yes, No, Don't know, No difference.)

Q.45. How much preparation have you been given to cope with the changes involved in the new department, by way of meetings, lectures, discussions, etc.
Meetings
Discussions
Lectures. (a five point scale given)

Q.46. How has the changeover affected your own personal status.
Status - gone Up.
- stayed the same.
- gone Down.

Q.47. How optimistic are you about the eventual outcome of the changes brought about by the new department. (a five point scale given)

Q.48. How practical in your opinion is the idea of a completely multi-purpose social worker.

Q.49. Do you think that the changeover has affected your general satisfaction with the job. (a five point scale given)

Q.50. In order to get a personal rating for your satisfaction in your job, tick the following areas of your work in terms of their importance to you.
High Status
High Salary
40 Hour Week
Good Communications
Having the right qualities for the job.
(a five point scale given)
How important to you is control over -
Client Supervision
Timetable
Correspondence. (a five point scale given)

Q.50. Continued.

How important to you is having the cooperation of -
Clients
Colleagues
The Court. (a five point scale given)
How important is having good chances of promotion, and a say in what you are asked to do -
Prom otion
Having a say. (a five point scale given)
How important to you is doing a job you feel competent in. (a five point scale given)
How important to you is having a job which does not clash with private interests. (a five point scale given)

Stage Three: The Interview Schedule.

The interviews with the social workers in the study were structured around the following questions.

Q.1. What is your job here in the Department.

Q.2. How is the work allocated within the department.

Q.3. How many cases do you have.

Q.4. Do you have a mixed caseload in terms of different categories of work.

Q.5. Do you get much supervision from seniors in your work.

Q.6. What do you know of the policy of the department.

Q.7. Does the department operate with any sort of priorities in the work.

Q.8. What priorities do you,yourself,have in your work.

Q.9. Have you experienced any feeling of stress as a result of the changeover.

Q.10. What are the supports for the worker in the department.

Q.11. Have any issues developed between the staff and the department over any aspect of the work.

Q.12. Do you attempt to keep records for the department up to date. ie. files,monthly returns,etc.

Q.13. Do you think that you have developed professionally as a result of the changeover.

Q.14. Does the department offer any career opening for yourself or other social workers.

Q.15. If you were to think of your relationship with the department as a sort of exchange - i.e. where you put in your work effort in return for certain rewards or benefits from the department - would you say that you were satisfied with the exchange.

Why.

Q.16. What are the rewards of social workers in doing social work.

Q.17. Do you see your future lying with this department or elsewhere.

Q.18. Are you in favour of the new social work service.

Q.19. Are you in favour of the multi-purpose social work role. In Theory and in Practice.

Appendix B.

P 2.* The use of the term 'professionally' in this context refers to the possibility that the study of these specialist groups might also have thrown up some insights into the general concept of 'the Profession'. A study of the Professions, however, was not the objective of this particular piece of research.

P 62.* The term 'professional' as used here and elsewhere in the thesis (c f. p90, par.5.; p 184) refers to the titles attached to the different specialist training courses open to social workers seeking qualifications in their work. The term professional being applied by the training bodies and the specialist groups to someone who had undergone such approved training.
With reference to the use of this sense of the term see 'Careers in Social Work' p 1. Social Work Advisory Service.(1968).

P 82.* The use of the term 'professional' in this context refers to the workers' and their colleagues' self-definition of their role as particular types of workers holding certain values and commitments towards the client and operating with certain approved skills (usually casework). The workers' view of their work as professional was also highly coloured by its specialist nature and clientele and it is this definition of their role as professional/specialists which forms the core meaning of the term as used in this study. (c f. p 90. par. 2.)

With reference to the use of this sense of the term see -

K.Jones.'Casework and Community Work:Partnership or Takeover.' p 11. in Social Work Today. 1971.

D.Jones.'Towards Integrated Social Work Departments.'p24. in Social Work Today. 1971.

J.Morrish.'The Relevance to Agency Based Social Workers of Community Work and Social Action.' p 23. in Social Work Today. 1971.

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P 231.* The use of the term 'professional' in this context implies an important shift in emphasis away from either the specialist/training use of the term, or, from the emphasis placed by the social workers in the field on the values and commitments to the client. Instead if refers to the corporate body of social workers involved in the changeover and to the attempts to establish a unified organisation which would effectively represent the collectivity.
(c f. p232. ; p 291.)

With reference to the use of the term in this somewhat political sense see -

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